MANUSCRIPT No II

APPENDIX IV

The Autobiography of Mr James Ch'üan

FOREWORD BY THE EDITOR

Editorially this has been a labor of love. But it didn't quite support Vergil's, "Amor vincit omnia". For there were difficulties that the best of intentions proved inadequate to remove. If only "Jimmy" had hesitated less to identify many people, especially Americans, by name! I am sure Devello Sheffield, Arthur Smith, and Alice Frame, for example, would not have objected, in places where it seems certain, to me anyway, they were referred to - even if the reference was not in every case completely favorable. Again, at the start, quotation marks were used to distinguish between the original narrative and the minor editorial revisions and abbreviations. It soon became clear that it should be "pure Jimmy" for the rest of the story. But no mention was made of this, as it should have been, at the point where quotation marks were dropped. Once, more, Jimmy evidently wrote much of the story in a rather piece-meal fashion, devoting many pages of relevant comment on aspects of the new regime, but not entirely in chronological order. Hence, for example, the account of his trip to India to attend the Madras meeting of the International Missionary Council is given many pages beyond where chronologically it belonged. The exigencies of copying made its relocation impossible. So also with the taking over of Shanghai by the Communists. But these are minor matters in the unfolding of a career eminent in itself, and which bore witness to the value and credibility of the Christian witness in China. The values of his life are being preserved in the lives of those "hostages to fortune" he left behind at the end of his journey.

It only remains to express gratitude to Dr. Fred Field Goodsell, whose idea it was originally that this story be preserved; to Jimmy's widow and to his niece, Mrs. K.Y.Ma, for supplying the original manuscript on which this memorial is based; and to Dr. Goodsell's office assistant for the arduous work involved in preparing the typescript.

Earle H. Ballou

Auburndale, Massachusetts
March 13, 1972

PREFACE

At first when my friends suggested that I should put down in written form the various events which have occurred throughout my life, I absolutely declined to do so for the reason that there is not anything worthwhile to write about. But after repeated suggestions and frequent contemplation on my part, I finally came to the conclusion that after all big events or inspiring episodes do occur in the life cycle of an average man. The man himself may not be worthwhile, such as in thie particular case, but the events may. This autobiography is, therefore, not an attempt to depict unusual qualities of the author, but an honest and earnest effort to place before the readers, if any, frankly and truthfully the various experiences of his checkered career which may be of some worth and value.

S. J. Ch'üan

Mr. James Ch'üan

Edited and somewhat abbreviated from his Autobiography by

Rev. Earle H. Ballou

Prologue

It was a lovely afternoon in late June, 1912. A baseball game, strictly amateur - few if any uniforms in evidence, but many white shirts and white flannel trousers - was in progress on the grassy lawn beside East Hall, one of the dormitories at Northfield Seminary, now known as Northfield School for Girls, at Northfield, Mass. The school had closed for the summer vacation some days earlier, however, and not a girl was anywhere in sight. The players were all members of the Yale Delegation to the annual Student Conference held under the auspices of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. and presided over year after year by John R. Mott.

This year, as usual, the Yale Delegation was the largest, well over one-hundred in a total enrollment of between six and seven hundred. It completely filled East Hall and was large enough so that it joined not only in the Conference recreation and athletic program that filled every afternoon of the ten days that the Conference lasted, but had a considerable program of its own athletic activities as well. Colleges closed later in those days, and the Conference almost always included near its end the Fourth of July. But that is a story by itself.

The Yale Delegation's own baseball tournament was in full swing, and the representatives of the Senior Class who had graduated only three or four days before the opening of the Conference, were so few that I had been persuaded to do the pitching in this afternoon's game with the Sophomores - the only

time I ever attempted to occupy that critical position. (What little baseball ability I possessed found better scope on first base or behind the bat.) Early in the game, "1912 vs. 1914", probably in the first inning, I found myself facing a short, rather thickset figure, obviously Chinese, with a round and innocent, not to say appealing face. I had often seen him around the Yale campus and during the past few days around East Hall, but whether I had come to know his name, I am not sure. One pleasant feature of "Northfield" was that we who attended from our larger Eastern colleges had a chance to become acquainted with many members of other classes whom we otherwise seldom if ever met on campus, as well as numerous alumni, some of them distinguished churchmen, who dropped in for at least the big celebration on the Fourth.

It was perhaps natural that as I faced this Oriental, playing in a game which could not have been a part of his childhood background, I determined that if I could put the ball over the plate in a position favorable to the batter, I would give him a chance. I did, and the next thing I knew the ball was out in left field and the batter was well on the way to second. That was all I remember about the game but it was enough. I had been "introduced" to a man whom in the next fifty years I came to regard with pride and affection as one of my very good friends.

He was Shao-wen James Ch'üan - "Jimmy", as he was universally called, and soon, by everybody who became acquainted with him. Few of those who came to know him did not love and admire him. The essential facts of the sketch that follows became known to me only over the years, and I deeply regret the numerous and large gaps that still remain.

He left behind a somewhat "scrappy" autobiography of nearly 200

type-written pages. Upon it I have relied for most of my material [covering the first third of his life] and have repeatedly quoted directly [or indirectly] from it, especially after his boyhood. There is throughout, however, a rather distressing absence of chronological sequence, with an almost complete absence of dates around which to cluster many of the events so strikingly described. He was also very chary of using the actual names of people among his wide circle of friends, especially people with whom he disagreed or came into any kind of conflict. This omission, which is probably a tribute to his typically Chinese courtesy, is often little short of exasperating, as it piques one's curiosity without giving it satisfaction, especially as almost certainly in the case of "O.C.H's" (Old China Hands), many of the people referred to must be men or women about whom we have often heard, if we did not in fact know them!

The Story Begins — Ancestry

Jimmy was a Manchu. This fact, in the China that followed the Revolution of 1911 which had overthrown the Manchu Dynasty and established a Republic less than a year before the ballgame mentioned above, might have been at least one strike against him. It evidently was not; the handicaps that had to be overcome because of his Manchu origin had appeared long before and had been surmounted many years before that Revolution.

His ancestors belonged to one of the "Banners" or large clans, eight in number, into which the Manchus had been divided ever since they secured control of China in the 17th century, and before. They all re-

ceived grants of land and monthly subsidies of varying amounts from the Court. This led easily to their descendants becoming parasites, unable and unwilling to make their own living. By the slow but steady process of decay many had reached the stage of abject poverty long before the Empire was overthrown.

When Jimmy's grandfather died in about the middle of the 19th century, his grandmother, with three fatherless sons, was reduced to beggary on the streets of Peking. There were no relatives in a position to help. Just at that point, on the verge of starvation, they heard that some "foreign devils" had opened a little school, with tuition, board, and room all free. However, it was widely reported that the school had been established purely so that the hearts and eyes of the boys could be gouged out and used to make powerful medicine. Yet, believing that any kind of death is better than one by starvation, the mother finally sent her three sons to this little school. "To her great delight", as her grandson Jimmy put it, "the sons not only did not lose their eyes and hearts, but grew to be healthy men, both physically and spiritually." In due course the boys were baptized, and again to quote James, "Thus my father became a Christian largely because the church had helped to sustain him when he was most in need. One might say that he started his Christian career mainly as a 'Rice Christian'. However, later on, when he understood Christianity much better, ... he became a true Christian."

This boy was Ch'üan Yüeh-tang, but because of his remarkable career as a teacher of Mandarin to any number of foreigners - missionaries, businessmen, and diplomatic people of several nationalities - he came in due

course to be referred to as "Mr. Ch'üan the Elder" (Ch'üan Lao Hsien Sheng). While he early left the formal and fulltime service of the slowly growing Church in North China, he was all his long life a loyal Christian layman and of inestimable value to the work of the Church through his outstanding ability to help its foreign servants acquire not only a knowledge of the spoken language in all the beauty of the Peking-Tungchow "dialect", but also a sympathetic understanding of many cultural aspects of Chinese civilization, during the last years of the decaying Manchu Dynasty.

Four Brothers

In the persons of their four sons, Mr. and Mrs. Ch'üan made no small contribution to the New China that was emerging during their lifetime. Of these four boys Jimmy was the third. The eldest was Shao-t'ang, Titus. By many of the missionary community he was considered to have been the most brilliant and promising. He died, however, at the age of thirty, only two months before he was to graduate in 1910 from the original Peking Union Medical College. (This was the small mission-founded institution which was taken over seven years later and replaced by the magnificent and greatly enlarged institution made possible by the munificent generosity of the newly established Rockefeller Foundation and its subsidiary, the China Medical Board.)

The next brother, Shao-ching, John, graduated from the Tientsin (Government) Medical College, later studied at Johns Hopkins, and served in numerous medical capacities in China until his death in Peking in 1951.

One early result of the high standing John attained while a medical student was appointment to the staff of the Chinese Imperial Commission to India and Tibet in the early years of the Twentieth Century. His English was so good that he was taken along as interpreter for the negotiations with Lord Kitchener. With him he struck up a friendship because of their common interest in China porcelains. While in Tibet he not only visited "the beautiful private garden of the Da Lai Lama in the confines of the Patala", but believed himself to be the one "who first introduced vaccination into Lhasa". Later under the Republic he was at one time Surgeon General and Minister of Health in the national cabinet, and for many years was head of the Chinese Red Cross.

Jimmy was the third son, as already mentioned. His younger brother Shaowu, Peter, finished undergraduate work at the North China Union College at Tungchow. He then studied at the Union Theological Seminary, located at the Presbyterian Mission in Peking. Feeling that the course there had been of less than first quality, he was fortunate in having friends who made it possible for him to come to the United States for the full course at Hartford Theological Seminary. Returning to China in late 1918, he served until shortly before Pearl Harbor in a variety of positions, chief of which were literature work with the China Continuation Committee in Shanghai (shortly to become the National Christian Council), religious educational work at the Teng Shih K'ou Church of the American Board in Peking, and student evangalistic work among the eight Middle Schools of the Mission. (From here on we shall commonly speak of all the work of that Mission by

the Chinese name it had long used, the North China Kung Li Hui.) Its program of church, school, hospital, rural reconstruction, and other social agencies was carried on in the three provinces of Shantung, Hopei and Shansi, with some extension into northern Shensi. The Japanese invasion of 1937 found Peter in business and, following the many vicissitudes of those trying years, he lived in retirement in Peking.

Jimmy's only sister to reach adulthood, the youngest of her generation, was named Shao Lau, Mary. She studied at Oberlin at the same time as the girl who a little later became Jimmy's wife, and after her marriage lived in Peking.

A Scholar and a Gentleman

The father of this by no means undistinguished family, "Ch'üan Lao Hsiensheng", died full of years and beloved by all who knew him, in 1936 at the ripe age of 84. A year before this in June, 1935, the Kung Li Hui and the North China Mission of the American Board had celebrated in Peking the 75th Anniversary of its beginning in 1860 - the first American missionary society to enter that area. Hardly anybody among the many hundreds of people who attended the two-day program of that celebration failed to notice with respect and affection the still robust and alert figure of this Chinese patriarch as he moved slowly about the lovely tree-shaded yard - "compound", "park" - call it what you will - in front of the Teng Shih K'ou Church, on the arm of his son, Jimmy, further assisted by a stout cane.

One more important comment on the father's career needs to be made before we concentrate on the development of his third son, Jimmy. Early in his adult life Mr. Ch'üan Sr. made two important decisions that controlled his life from then on. He had for some time been on the staff of the North China Mission as either teacher or "evangelist". This latter term did not carry in China the connotation of "revivalist", but of one who "proclaims the good news of the Gospel", in other words, a preacher. It was the career that the Mission naturally favored for as many as possible of the boys who had been given an education by them and had shown real evidence of being truly Christian in outlook and motivation. But in those early years such fellows, hardly more than employees of the Mission, were very poorly paid. Chances for advancement in any part of the necessarily limited program were small. In the education offered by the American Board Schools opportunities to study English were very meagre. The leaders of the Mission were quite generally, though not unanimously, agreed that encouragement of their bright students to acquire this foreign language to the point of proficiency, or even short of that, would only nourish in far too many of them an irresistible urge to go into commercial pursuits, especially those related to the rapidly growing import and export trade under control of foreigners in the Treaty Ports. Where, then, would come recruits for church and mission work expansion?

The American Board was not alone in taking this attitude, but the price paid for maintaining it until well into the 20th Century was high. This attitude was probably the biggest single mistake the North

China Mission made in the first fifty years of its work. It had to watch some other Christian schools, particularly those opened by the Methodist Mission, where English was emphasized, grow much faster and draw many of the bright and ambitious youngsters to institutions in other respects no better than their own. It would be an interesting study to try to discover whether as a matter of fact Methodist growth suffered because some of their young men went into business instead of into church work, or whether the loyalty of such men resulted in a degree of financial support, proportionate to their greated earning power, for the church which had offered them education.

In any case, Jimmy's father early decided that he would try to learn English, and he had friends both inside and outside the Mission circle who made this possible. The other decision was that if he was to support his growing family as he felt he should, work outside the Church would be necessary. This decision opened the door to that career in private tutoring of foreigners in Chinese for which he became best known the rest of his life. What intermediate steps there were and how long the establishment of his reputation took, and how difficult, is not clear. His numerous talents, especially in music, and his genial personality, certainly played their part.

Furthermore, his "secular" profession did not prevent him from accepting several temporary positions in mission schools, one of these being principal of the American Board's school for girls in Tientsin. His tutoring career also led to his living after his marriage in numerous places, sometimes with and sometimes without his family. There seems to be clear evidence that such locations included Weihaiwei and

Cheloo in Shantung and at least Peking, Tungchow, and Tientsin in Chihli (now Hopei) Province.

It also gave him a variety of pupils within and without the slowly expanding mission body. One of those in government service was a Captain Denton of the British Army, commanding officer of the especially trained guards in the leased territory of Weihaiwei in Shantung Province. Capt. Denton became so fond of his Chinese tutor that he invited him to accompany him as his guest when he left for London shortly before the coronation of King Edward VII, and invitation as wonderful as it was unexpected. However, at that time Mr. Ch'üan's health was precarious enough so that he was fearful of what might be the consequences of such a long journey with all the changes in climate and diet; and almost at the last minute the invitation, to his great disappointment, had to be declined. The pupil who attained the greatest distinction of all those taught by Mr. Ch'üan was, of course, Herbert Hoover. But the period of tutoring could not have been long, and there is no record of how apt this pupil proved to be.

It is altogether likely, however, that the contact with Mr. Hoover was made in Tientsin and almost certain that it was related to the fact that it was there that the family passed through the crisis of the Boxer Uprising of 1900, when Jimmy was fourteen years old.

A Harrowing Experience

This may be the best place to give brief attention to that harrowing experience. Historical emphasis has naturally been focused upon the Siege of the Legations in Peking from June 20 until August 14 of that

hot summer. But the Treaty Port of Tientsin underwent its own ordeal for four weeks beginning the middle of June. Prior to that, the foreign military forces near enough to be concentrated at Tientsin, and of eight different nationalities, had made an attempt to repair the railroad leading to Peking, had been severely repulsed, had retreated to Tientsin and then after being strongly reinforced, were able to disperse the besiegers and proceed on their way to the relief of the Legations.

The violence at Tientsin was concentrated around the so-called "Foreign Settlement", principally the British and French Concessions whereby the provisions of one of what later became so generally known as "The Unequal Treaties", the mandate of the Chinese government never controlled.

Property owned by the American Board was in the French Concession, next to the British, and near the bank of the river leading down to the sea, where cargo vessels were normally tied up. This Mission property and adjacent commercial buildings - mostly warehouses of "godowns" as they were called - became a haven of refuge not only for missionaries, but also for some one hundred fifty Chinese Christians and their relatives from the countryside. Mrs. Ch'üan and the small children were among those quartered in one of the large and crowded "godowns" vacated by the Andersen-Meyer Co. That neighborhood was sporadically shelled by the Boxers on the other side of the broad river, but without injury to those in whom we are chiefly interested. The older boys with their father for much of the time had to make-do as best they could in a sheltered corner of the compound. Here they were pretty well-protected from the shelling, but the filthy surroundings of an area used as an inadequately equipped and unsanitary latrine gave Jimmy a skin infection that required long and

patient nursing by his mother before it cleared up. During this period of recovery the family last their youngest member, a little boy scarcely a year old, through dysentery. Before the Boxer trouble was completely over, two small sisters had also died through illness and lack of proper medicine. Thus only the four boys and the girl already mentioned earlier in this account survived the ordeal and returned to Peking and Tungchow.

But there had been lighter moments among the trials and dangers of those days. The American Marines had their Band, and on many a day at noon they practiced in the Compound of the Congregational Church where for a time the Ch'üans were quartered. The boys naturally listened with rapt attention, and the eldest of them, Titus, who was especially gifted in music, so attracted the favorable attention of the German band master that he offered to teach Titus some of the songs played by the Band. When the time came to say farewell, he gave the youngster a German harmonica, a gift that made a great impression.

And there were narrow escapes. John spoke enough English to get a job serving the mess of some of the Allied Officers. One noon while he was setting the table, a shell came through the roof and "broke all the plates and glasses and lanterns". Pastor Meng, who lived to take part in the 75th Anniversary of the Mission in 1935, moved to the basement of the main building and closed the door behind him a few seconds before a shell came through the corner of the room just vacated and "smashed the furniture to smithereens". A few seconds earlier, he and his whole family would have been killed. On another day, running to pick up the fragments of a shell that had burst not far away, young

James burned his fingers in a way that taught him to be careful from then on! And on another occasion while he was standing in line to receive his allotment of Chinese bread, "an elderly woman just ahead" - and a head taller - "suddenly fell forward, dead. On examination a spent bullet was found in her mouth, but after it had killed her." From this time on he felt less resentment at being called "Shorty".

A Period of Lawlessness

In the period of lawless confusion that immediately followed the scattering of the Boxer remnants around Tientsin and elsewhere, as well as after the relief of the Legations in Peking, the Ch'üan family took no share. They could not help observing, however, some of the looting of pawnshops and go-downs in their vicinity by the Chinese populace, Christians and non-Christians alike - and by some missionaries too, for that matter. But the head of their family "refused to have any part in it for the simple reason that he believed it to be robbery". He even declined when the opportunity was offered a little later to put in a claim for indemnity from the government for their personal losses, either those that had befallen them during their sojourn in Tientsin, or for their property in Peking and Tungchow - property that had been thoroughly destroyed. As his son put it, "he deemed to do so would be further insult to the nation".

As for the Christians who were not averse to taking part in the looting that followed the collapse of the Boxers in Peking, both Jimmy and his father were ready to acknowledge that evil did not always bring what they might have regarded as deserved retribution.

As Jimmy tells the story, "Among those Christian looters there was one who succeeded in using his loot to good advantage. This man in his boyhood was a very naughty student in the church school. He got to be so very mischievous one day that the principal became very angry and was fully determined to expel him once for all. My father intervened for the boy, saying, 'There is no point to deny that the boy was Mischievous. But his mischief was so different and he was always the leader, that it showed that under further training he might become a pillar of the church when he grew up.' For that reason Father argued that the boy be retained by the School and we would see how he would grow and change.

"Needless to say, the boy became a very strong character in the church. He alone was able to place his lootings in a good enterprise beneficial for him and for the church community. With the money thus illegally gained, he established a dairy farm outside of Peking which grew to be the famous 'Tungchow Dairy Farm', serving a large patronage. For many years this was the only modern farm in that locality; the foreigners particularly were very thankful, for they could have their daily milk supplies. He was, however, an able and proud person, difficult to approach. Nevertheless, the business prospered, and the church also benefitted by his benevolence."

The willingness - in some instances, eagerness - of more than a few people whom they knew were missionaries - to help themselves to valuables that were left unprotected by the Chinese owners during this period of anarchy came under strong condemnation by the Ch'üans. But Jimmy goes on to add, "However, some missionaries did one thing

many claimed could not be done. That is, to love their enemies, according to Christ's teaching in the Gospel. Some missionaries whose husbands or wives were murdered in Shansi Province naturally received large amounts of indemnity which they declined to accept. Instead, they donated the whole sum to the establishment of a school to educate the young of that province. The parents of some of these young people were unquestionably responsible for the death of the dear ones concerned. It is very difficult to 'love thine enemy', but it can be done, and it was done."

There followed a period when many of the treasured possessions of foreigners whose homes had been stripped by the Boxers during the Siege were finding their way back on to the market by way of the innumerable small peddlers' stands lining the main thoroughfares. This was a phenomenon, incidentally, observable after many a period of lawlessness both before and after 1900. Some time after the Ch'üans returned to Peking, Jimmy came upon a silver-plated cornet displayed for sale on such a stand, which he recognized as having belonged to an old missionary friend. The seller had no idea what the article was for, and let it go for "a very ridiculously low price". The original owner's thanks were profuse when his offer of a reward for the unexpected recovery of the lost treasure was firmly declined!

Early Education - and Recreation

Now let us give some account of Jimmy's education which had been so rudely interrupted by the Boxer catastrophe. As a little boy he attended Primary School in Peking. These were of course still the days of the Manchu Dynasty. The instruction was recalled as being any-

thing but inspiring. There was only one teacher for more than fifty pupils, and the curriculum consisted solely of memorizing the Confucian classics with no effort to make them in any way interesting to boys around ten years of age. It was "recite, recite, recite", audibly, so that the teacher would know they were working, and with little or no comprehension of the meaning of what they were shouting to themselves. Jimmy's only memory of this first teacher was that he was pockmarked, and that his stern manner found frequent expression in rapping the boys on the head with the small metal bowl at the end of his long-stemmed Chinese pipe. He appeared to take an interest only in the bright boys, who seemed to give some promise of eventually qualifying after many years of struggle to take the series of Civil Service Examinations. These examinations had been for hundreds of years the prescribed doorway through which one had to pass if he was to join the ranks of the host of candidates for a government post. Those finally selected might gain a fairly lucrative post in the Mandarinate, and a bit of glory so acquired might reflect on the teacher.

He was being well brought up, and there is no suggestion that he ever strayed out of sight of the straight and narrow path. He recognized that his father liked nicer things than his income made possible. At times his great love of beauty and cleanliness made it hard for Mrs. Ch'üan. But if at times there was an overstress on cleanliness, noticed by the son, it was well balanced by the father's love for his children and his interest in many things that interested them. Two of the traditional recreations of the Chinese have been the flying of kites and the competitive matching of belligerent crickets! Mr. Ch'üan was extremely fond of both, to the delight of the younger generation. During the

early years when there were no telephones in Peking and the "main streets were free from overhanging wires, and the traffic was not heavy, kite flyers had the time of their lives. One year Father bought a specially large kite in the form of a character for 'Cloud', - a very beautiful kite despite its very complicated construction." The son remembered how gleefully his father "ran across the main street with the kite flying in the sky, followed by his brood of four joyful sons".

The other recreation, or more properly hobby, was the assembling of a menagerie of crickets. These for the most part were confined in tiny pots of different colors made of red, grey or dark clay, according to their fighting ability. The champions were housed in specially constructed and fancy colored pots. There was often fierce competition in the sport, and bets on the favorite competitors at times ran into thousands of dollars, "tremendous sums, considering the purchasing power of the dollar then". But Jimmy closes his obviously affectionate reference to this feature of his childhood with the simple remark, "but Father never gambled, although he often housed a large number of beautiful crickets".

A little later Mr. Ch'üan was transferred to Tungchow, and Jimmy's education was continued in the comparatively rural environment of that prefectural city a little more than twelve miles east of the capital. If not strictly rural, there was at any rate a small pond near their home, with plenty of room to throw stones. He later recalled that his familiarity with the Old Testament led to comparing himself with the ancient Benjaminites, also, like himself, left-handed, when his developing strength and athletic ability made him capable of throwing stones all the way across the pond, and more than a few times knocking a sparrow off the telegraph wires.

Dormitory Life Begins

Within a few years Mr. Ch'üan was again transferred, this time to the mission school in Tientsin. It meant that Jimmy would go to live in the dormitory at Tungchow, a change which at first he greeted with enthusiasm - it would greatly increase the amount of time available for playing with his classmates. But it also promptly brought experience with what he called a "strange illness". For, when he accompanied one of his older brothers from the dormitory to the empty house where they had lived, a former neighbor called attention to the fact that his brother was crying. He too immediately showed signs of that "creeping illness of homesickness", as he puts it, "for I also began to cry. It became worse when the freshness of schoolmate playing began to wear off. The worst of it was that I cried for home, no matter where I was. I cried when we were at a prayer meeting; I cried deep at night. Gradually, however, this thing subsided until it was entirely gone. But while it lasted, homesickness was rather uncomfortable" (to put it mildly).

He was a bright enough student so that he pushed ahead and finished the primary school early. But he was considered too small to enter the High (Middle) School Department at once, and had to repeat the last year, a delay not altogether distasteful, for he "was rather happy to continue associations with boys I already knew, and it was easy to review the old subjects."

For some reason - it may have been simply the poverty of a poorly paid teacher - his parents did not provide him when they left for Tientsin with adequate bedding for his first experience in a school dormitory.

As he put it, learning of his plight, "a missionary lady offered to provide me with covering of some kind. It was enough for the warm season, but not enough for the winter months. A small boy does not sleep quietly. During the first half of the night when the brick bed was warm through a special heating process [a flue carrying heat under the whole length of the ong bed], the covering was sufficient, but during the latter half of the night, when the heat was gone and the brick bed was cold and the small boy turned many times during his sleep, the covering was barely sufficient to cover him, but not enough to serve as a mattress as well. I suffered from cold during the winter months. It is a marvel that I survived. I must have inherited a strong constitution!"

Living in a dormitory brought many distractions, the availability of much more athletic equipment especially. He was fond of tennis and pole-vaulting, and became so proficient in the former that for a time, obviously some years later, he was the singles champion for North China. "This, however, did not speak much at that time, as tennis playing among Chinese students was quite rare". Moreover, Chinese-made racquets were few and unreliable, and imported ones expensive beyond a student's reach. Nor was the game as played by the students much developed. "In the match played between the North China Union College and the Methodist Peking University, my opponent picked up the ball, which bounced very poorly on account of a severe cut by my partner, and handed it over to the umpire, requesting him to change it because, as he claimed, it was broken. That showed how much the students at that time knew about tennis, to say nothing of how to play it. So

my tennis championship did not go very far. It was even worse with pole-vaulting. I was runner-up in that event, with a vault of seven and a half feet. Today even in plain high jump the record goes over seven feet. Great changes in athletics have taken place!"

Developing Missionary Education

The precise date of such events is not known. Obviously they occurred after James had moved up from Middle School to College. And this transition took place after the Boxer outbreak was a thing of the past. That catastrophe resulted in a vast change in the picture of missionary education. At just about the time that he began going to school in 1893, the Boys' School at Tungchow, started in 1867, had become an institution with five in the College Department, 27 in the Academy, and 18 in the Primary Department. The next year it moved on to a new site outside the city, with buildings accommodating 100 and surrounded by spacious grounds. The following year a gift of $35,000 was received by the Board, of which $10,000 was set aside for endowment and the rest put into a well-equipped plant.

This was completely destroyed by the Boxers. But the reconstruction that followed was made possible in large measure by the cash indemnity, the sale of property previously owned inside the city, a gift from the government of the old Ming Dynasty South Granary, and the purchase of three adjacent small villages that had been abandoned. One of these had its name changed from Rice Drying Yard to Resurrection Village ("Fu Hsing Chuang"), and was resettled largely by survivors of rural churches decimated by the Boxers. These churches had lost 133 of their members through

martyrdom.

This acquisition of property included one small and unique item that led to a charge of American imperialism which Jimmy came in time, anyway, to feel was "absolutely true". A narrow private gate, barely wide enough to permit the passage of a rickshaw, was opened in the old city wall, leading to the broad acres of the new campus, or "compound", as it was usually called, outside. The gate was for the exclusive use of those connected with the church and schools, though gradually used by the population in general who found it very convenient. But this gate, having been opened at the request of foreigners - and, even more, the taking over of what became "Resurrection Village", - came to be regarded as "flagrant offense against Chinese authority", even though gladly accepted by the Christian community at the time.

During the earlier stages of the extensive building program on the new campus, Jimmy's oldest brother served as one of those fully occupied "in supervising the building work", and had not time to attend to their personal affairs, such as their laundry. Jimmy was called into service and "fed with baked bread with very delicious meat inside". But the laundry was very hard work - too heavy for a youth no older than he. Sometimes he had to wash as many as eighty pieces of various sizes daily, and, he added, "one knows how difficult it is to wash old style Chinese socks" - made not by knitting, but of heavy cloth.

The result of these real estate adjustments and building program was one of the finest mission sites in North China: ample room and to spare for well-spaced missionary residences, a girls' boarding school, a hospital, athletic fields, a future boarding school of high school grade for missionary children, and the College with its

By 1905 the College became the capstone of an educational effort in which the Presbyterian and the English Congregational (London) Missions joined the American Board. It was from this College that Jimmy in due course was graduated.

Work and Play

The growing teenager, or course, was not involved in all the discussions that led with very deliberate speed to such a desirable achievement in Christian cooperation. It was the daily round of work and play, with its competition both in classroom and on the athletic field, and the steady development of character and personality that fully occupied him. In all these fields he did well. He was a good student, but it was not strange that his interest in athletics had, for a time, an adverse influence on his scholastic standing. While he had graduated from the High School, or Middle School as it was called, at the head of his class, at the end of the first month of college he barely made the second division. When, along with others, while scanning the office announcement on the bulletin board in the Assembly Hall, he heard his primary school principal in the crowd behind him ask in clearly audible tones, "But where is Shao-wen's name? I can't find it!", he "quietly slipped away", humiliated.

As a matter of fact, it was not until Senior year that he finally woke up to a serious realization of what the opportunity of an education was for and began to apply himself to it in earnest. One spur was the jibe of students from farther away. "You northern Chinese are good for nothing but play. It is we who come from Shantung Province who can

study." This stimulus from without and a growing sense of maturity r resulted in such serious efforts that he climbed to first place. The comfortable feeling this gave him was followed by "the agony of it, for in order to show his college mates that it was not pure luck", he had to study hard "to maintain that high intellectual level for the rest of my last year". It meant depriving himself of many opportunities in athletics.

In this last year's struggle for supremacy - "to gain the glory and honor of graduating at the top of the class" - the element of luck played its welcome part. Two incidents are worth relating, mostly in his own words: "There was especially one classmate who fought the hardest to compete with me for the honor. I was finding everything safe excepting the study of trigonometry. Our professor in Trigonometry was a new M.A. from Cambridge who had already established a name for himself in mathematics. But unfortunately the subject had to be taught in Chinese, as the students had no chance to learn English .. Once the students knew English, it was feared they would fly outside the church and community to work for the Devil. Most of the College faculty at that time supported such a viewpoint, which seems a most unreasonable one now ... so the professor taught us trigonometry with the little Chinese he knew, relying on his Chinese teacher for the translation.

"The teacher, however, knew absolutely nothing in modern mathematics. The final result was that the great majority of the class failed to know anything about trigonometry at the end of the year. As it was my last year in college, I had to make good, especially

because I was very anxious to gain that honor of being the first. Out of sheer necessity I went for some instruction to the only member of the class who knew something of the subject. He had only time enough to teach me how to solve one of the two most difficult problems when the time was up for the examination.

"I had the good fortune to draw the only problem I knew how to solve... and worked out the solution on the blackboard in grand style, right before the eyes of the large number of friends and relatives who were permitted, according to the custom of the day, to come to the examination hall to watch. The very little knowledge of trigonometry that I had thus saved me from great humiliation. ... But during the second period of the examination I drew the second problem that I had not had time to get instruction in from my classmate, and therefore did not know its solution. But that solution had to be worked out on tables which the visitors could not see. I just scratched my pen here and there to while away the time. Eager to know the result...I went to the professor's house, and was told that I had had the good fortune to get a 95, while my competitor got only 90. Thus I came out first with an average of 995 for ten subjects. That meant that I got full marks in the other nine subjects for both the days' work and the examination. As everybody knows, this is impossible to accomplish, excepting through luck and the peculiarities of the teachers. This leads me to remark that the marking system is very unreliable."

This last remark is well illustrated by another experience: "The professor of Astronomy was fond of discussing with the class any subjects under the sun but the subject of the day. Knowing this special

fondness of the professor, the whole class appointed a member-of-the-day to select a subject other than Astronomy, to be discussed with him. The whole year was spent that way, and I got a full mark of 100. The professor simply marked us according to what our stand was in other classes. Without being modest, I did not deserve all the full marks. It was discovered later that this professor was deeply involved in a private love affair with the eldest daughter of the pastor, and he had no mind for teaching us astronomy. So even until today what little I know of Astronomy is [limited to] the dipper constellation, and that I came to know through common knowledge, not through studying Astronomy. No one should blame me for not believing in the reliability of the marking system." This, by the way, is one of the numerous instances occurring in Jimmy's autobiography where it would add greatly to the interest of the story if he had been less considerate of the reputation of foreign friends, whom he protects by not naming them!

Following the Boxer Rebellion when the old College was totally destroyed, temporafy quarters were found for it in Peking. Discipline became lax, and many students took up the habit of smoking, an indulgence strictly forbidden, with expulsion the penalty. When college opened for the second year of work in these temporary quarters, the President expressed his strong disapproval of all the smoking there had been, but took much of the blame on himself for having neglected discipline. He only required all who had broken the strict rule to come to his office and confess. Jimmy's older brother was sure he had seen Jimmy smoking, and insisted that he perform such an act of

repentance, despite the younger brother's assertion that he had been merely playing with a beautifully made Chinese water-pipe, and that in any case it had been days before the delayed opening of school. "Nevertheless that was smoking", was all the satisfaction he got from the older boy, and "innocent as I was, I went to the President and made the same confession." But his rebellious feeling toward his brother led him not to take up the habit, but to determine "I would never smoke in my life." Writing at the age of 76, he could say, "I have not yet done so."

Broadening Interests

He did admit that he had inherited from his mother a fondness for reading novels. While his promiscuous reading of everything of the sort that came his way - and all sorts of stories were available from the many deserted houses - one result was that while still a high school student he surprised everybody by winning the college essay competition. He later came to feel, after failing to do as well in later competitions, that his early success had been due chiefly to luck in the subject selected. And that "any college should direct a student's reading efforts."

His first experience with railroad trains had come with the return to Peking from Tientsin after the Boxer defeat. The trip down from Tungchow had been, as was customary, by a rudd type of houseboat on the river, which for hundreds of years had brought the tribute rice from the southern provinces to the Imperial Granaries in Tungchow.

Before the railroad this had been the only alternative to bumping along rough and rutty roads in a two-wheeled springless cart. But the river trip took five days, in sharp contrast to the three hours required for the train pulled by a steam locomotive on a journey slightly longer than the distance by boat between Tientsin and Tungchow. Jimmy had been led to think from the Chinese word for "locomotive" that he would see an iron horse belching fire through its nose, and was correspondingly disappointed by his first glimpse of the train at the Tientsin railroad station. Moreover, the party had to travel fourth class, which meant in boxcars, along with horses and pigs. But the speed of the train was a thrill, and when noon came with a stop for lunch at one of the five stations, he was introduced for the first time to "a sort of foreign bread". It was his first experience with foreign bread of any kind. "I thought it was wonderful!"

Jimmy believed that the four boys of the family had inherited their fondness for music from their father. In any case, one after another, they all sang in the college choir, and he and two of the others succeeded each other as its leaders. There had been a belief common among foreigners that Chinese students couldn't sing well. It therefore became something of a sensation when word got around that students of the North China Union College, taught by a science teacher who "did not believe such nonsense", were to sing the "Halleluyah Chorus". As their good reputation spread, not a few foreign visitors to Peking made the trip to Tungchow to hear them. Jimmy's narrative continues, "As I was the conductor, this gave me a swelled head. My teachers further encouraged me by saying that when I got to the United States I could always

compete with American students in singing. At that time I did not know much, still less about American student life. When I entered Yale University some years later I answered the call for new members of the Freshman Glee Club, believing that I would have no difficulty making it. The tutor tried me on the scale. I thought that I passed the test famously. But even until today, more than forty years later, I am still waiting for the invitation to join that Freshman Glee Club!

"In athletics it was the same story. While in China getting ready to start my voyage to the United States, my American teachers used to say to me, 'Certainly you will have no difficulty in making the tennis team at Yale', as I was supposed to be a good tennis player in North China. So in the tennis season at Yale I dressed in my tennis suit, and happily went to the tennis courts to try. But when I saw the large number of students driving and shooting the balls so smoothly and fast, I quietly withdrew without daring to show my face. I knew tennis well enough to know that I had absolutely no chance to make the team. This leads me to say that it is fitting for a fairly well trained Chinese student to go to a smaller college where he would have better chances to get into extracurricular activities and therefore receive advanced training through being coached and trained in further competitions and concerts."

But this is jumping a little far ahead!

Religious Reluctance

Religion had always played an important part in the life of the

Ch'üan family. The attitude of this member of the younger generation, however, did not always correspond with that of many of his elders, though perhaps not his betters. Many people in those days were great believers in revivals, and some churches of other denominations had at least one each year. As Jimmy recalled his youth he wrote, "For some reason, as a small boy I never believed in the efficacy of revivals. I always considered them to be occasions of emotional expression which may be of some benefit temporarily, but the eventual result is more damaging, at least to some. That is still my conviction. I may be wrong. When the revivals took place in our college in Tungchos just before the Boxer Movement, only two persons in the community did not confess, a senior and myself. In spite of repeated prayers at my side of my Mathematics teacher, I held on to my belief. I must admit that the revival did bring good to some individuals. Two seniors, who, on account of private grudge, declined to speak to each other for many months, during the revival confessed and wiped out their disagreements.

"I also had my own ideas regarding baptism. I do not claim that I was a zealous member of the Christian church, but I did not regard baptism lightly. To me it is an important step in one's Christian career, and one that no one should take lightly. Therefore I declined to be baptized when the pastor requested me to do so, on the ground that the time given was too short and I was not ready for it. To make matters worse for me, a few friends also refused to take the step because they said that I had refused. I only asked to be baptized the day after my graduation from college. My friends also were baptized at the same service. I never tried to influence them. They just

followed me. An old missionary spoke to me after the service, saying, 'Shaowen, I prayed for ten years for your conversion. When you still remained unbaptized at graduation, I thought that God for some reason refused to answer my prayer. Now I know He has granted my prayers in His own time'."

A less serious landmark had been passed during an earlier point in his student career, though inserted at this point in his autobiographical notes. "Some of my teachers decided that it would be an interesting item to have me recite an English poem at the Commencement Exercises. I have inherited some of my father's ability to speak. One old missionary mother was asked to tutor me. I practiced until I could recite it in my sleep. Although I recited that poem without any mistake, I did not remember what it was all about, excepting the last three words, 'round by round'. * However, it was very interesting to have the non-English-speaking audience listen to an Academy student recite something in English of which he didn't understand a thing!"

Another episode of school life is worth relating at some length, for it will illustrate how ill-prepared the residents of the prefectual city such as Tungchow - less than fifteen miles from the capital - were for the political changes so soon to be attempted. Reform was in the air long before the actual overthrow of the Manchu Dynasty in 1911. Under the Empress Dowager, after the debacle of the final effort to hold back the tides of modernity by the Boxer Rebellion, real and vastly significant changes were effected, and others given serious thought by those in authority. But popular feeling was in most cases, even when zealous for change, sadly lacking in knowledge. Here is Jimmy's account of one occasion that

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* Holland's "Graditim"? - Ed.

illustrated this all too well:

"To promote better understanding between the church and the city fathers, the College decided to hold a debate by the city fathers on the subject, 'Should a constitution be established slowly, or at once?' The debate was to be presided over by a college senior, as the city fathers had no qualified person to be the chairman. At the outset, it must be pointed out that there were two elements among the city fathers, one modern and one conservative. They of course were not agreed on anything. The conservatives clung to the past, and the moderns despised the conservatives and wished to have things new. The trouble with the modernists was that they did not know how to do or say things new, so the result of their modern practice was only to change things on the surface, or skin-deep. With some of them, the idea was that it was the popular thing to do.

"Since the Boxer Movement, when China had suffered so much at the hands of the foreign imperialists, the Court and the people all wanted very much to be modern and patriotic so that they could build a strong China to get rid of their foreign robbers. Among these there were quite a few imitators who just followed the crowd, but their efforts were only to smear their outside with a thin coat of modernism. Of these six debators, some were men of this type, whom the conservatives hated very much.

"It so happened that the first debator was of this type. He did not know anything about debating procedure. Anxious to make a good impression on the students, who were of the real modern type, he

came upon the platform and pulled out a prepared speech and began to read. He said, 'Gentlemen, I am not used to debate, so I have prepared a speech on patriotism'. He frequently used the expression, ' 'Change good', which in reality meant change for the good. The next speaker went after the previous speaker on the expression of 'change good'. He said, 'I am a stupid man, but I am not so stupid as to wish to change a thing that is good. That is the reason why I do not understand the previous honorable speaker. If a thing is good, why change it?' He went on to attack the previous speaker, because he belonged to the conservative group. The third speaker, as a side job, had taught one of the missionaries the language, and so thought he knew more of the foreign ways than the rest. Anxious to show to the students that he was not as ignorant as the others, he went first to the back of the platform where two large pictures were hung, then advanced slowly and reverently to the front and bowed deeply towards the pictures three times, while mumbling audibly that he must first pay his respects to Jesus Christ. He did this thinking that the College, being a Protestant school, must have hung the picture of Christ on the auditorium wall, whereas the two pictures hung there were of the Emperor Kuang Hsü and President Theodore Roosevelt. He could see neither as he was very near-sighted.

"The fourth speaker was a Mohammedan. He talked about Mohammedanism and Christianity without touching on the topic of the day. He was, however, the most patriotic person in the entire group, and later, in despair at the turn events took, committed suicide by drowning himself on his way back from Japan.

"The fifth speaker did no better. He fooled around the plat-

form without saying much. I do not remember what was the little he said, except that he also said nothing about the constitution.

"The last speaker, who was supposed to be of the leading gentry of the city, came on the platform rubbing his eyes. He apologized to the audience saying, ' I have trouble with my eyes and have to rub them right in front of you, which is very impolite.' Then he had to cough a long time and finally phlegm came up in his throat. Knowing that he should not spit openly right in front of the audience, he could find no spittoon. The teachers and students were always in good health, so that the College did not provide spittoons. Seeing a receptacle at the corner of the hall, he stepped off the platform and spat right into the receptacle which the College provided to hold the small sticks which the students used [as a substitute for toilet paper] when they went to the bathroom. By then the time was up, so he said nothing beyond profuse apology to the audience. Thus the curious debate ended, with no speakers touching upon the subject of the debate: 'Should the constitution be adopted slowly or at once?' If we listened only to those debators, we still would not know at what rate we should adopt a constitution."

The traditional division of Chinese society into what might be called a hierarchy of scholars, farmers, artisans and merchants, in that order of descent, with soldiers on an even lower rung, was something that with varying degrees of insistence the missionaries and the institutions they established attempted to oppose and even alter. The dignity of labor was not easily accepted by young peo-

ple who were given the chance to become scholars - which was the class from which officials of all ranks were chosen. The fact, however, that most students in Christian schools like the North China Union College at Tungchow came from the country rather than from the large urban centers made the emphasis the faculty tried to give to the use of their hands somewhat more natural than it would have been elsewhere. Jimmy's experience in this regard was of the greatest value as he looked back upon it from the vantage point of his later educational career.

As he put it, "In fact, it was of tremendous value to me in my student years abroad. Without it I could not possibly have completed by education in the United States. I would have found it very difficult setting tables, etc. With this training in college in China, it was quite natural for me to do all the above works with vim and vigor.

"There was an old channel which in olden times used to lead the water from the moat into the small fish pond on the college campus. It dried and silted up some years before. Since the College authorities wished to make good use of raising fish in the pond, it was necessary to fill the pond with water. The channel therefore had to be opened up. A large group of us poor students were therefore recruited to do the work. We were given spades and hoes and were taught how to use them most effectively. At the beginning it was hard work. Backs ached and hands carried callouses. At night we felt greatly fatigued. But young souls enjoy adventures. For to us it was indeed an adventure. It did not take long to complete the

canal as it required not much skill, simply pure digging. When the moat water was able to flow into the pond, the work was finished.

"A more skilled work then followed. The very enterprising science professor had established a farm for more of the poor students to work in. To sell in the Peking market the strawberries produced on the farm, the College must have containers. So we students were taught how to braid the small baskets at half a dime per basket. Of course there were students who could learn to braid well, and those who could not. Finally all could braid well enough to be acceptable.

"In addition, I also did special copying work on weekends for a doctor who usually went up to Peking to teach therapeutics at the [old] Peking Union Medical College. By these different kinds of work I was able to earn a fair amount of money to help meet the cost of my college education. Above all, I learned to know the honor of manual labor, which was of great importance throughout my life. I am not afraid of being placed in any condition, for I believe that I can always work my way through. Incidentally, I learned that all my men missionary teachers had a definite kind of manual skill besides their teaching, which was very interesting as well as inspiring to me."

Another western innovation that arrived during Jimmy's college days was the bicycle. He remembered it as being a greater novelty at the time than was the automobile when it first arrived years later. "

"The leading carpenter in the College community was the only man who possessed a bicycle besides the foreign teacher of history. It was such a novelty that all students wished to have a ride on it, but no one dared touch it. At last a junior, who was a good athlete took his

life in his own hands and quietly got on that bicycle and, to everyone's surprise as well as his own, rode around the campus without a single fall. Not only so, but he got off the strange instrument without any mishap. All students thought that he was wonderful indeed. Even the carpenter was so pleased at his prowness that instead of cursing him for stealing the bicycle for a ride, he granted him a free ride daily."

It was during Jimmy's college days that a special school for the children of the missionaries - the precursor of what became well known later as the North China American School - was established, first occupying three rooms at the College, and the youngsters of both schools mingled freely. Some of the foreign boys, however, wanted to use the horizontal bars and didn't know how. As Jimmy put it, "I happened to know a few of those tricks and a few broken English terms besides. So they came to me to learn. I was a stern teacher. Those who failed to carry out my instructions, I spanked. One of them was very clever but naughty. He became a leader of the gang. This naughty boy I was told some years later grew to be a very learned man, and finally was appointed principal of a School of Chinese Studies in a prominent university in New England."

In his narrative Jimmy moves on immediately to describe a more important athletic event that ushered in a new era of student activity. "The first intercollegiate athletic meet was held between the North China Union College and the Methodist Peking University." To prepare for this meet, the two institutions appointed a joint committee of which I was the chairman for the Tungchow school. When the meet was

held, it was agreed by the committee to go according to the decisions of the Joint Committee, which in certain ways did not fall in accord with the standing practices. The military corps of the University came to the Peking Railway Station to welcome us from Tungchow, about thirteen miles away. To our delight, we won nearly all the events in the morning excepting baseball, for which we had practiced only two weeks. The University boys naturally walked away with the game, which they had played for almost thirty years. According to the decision of the Joint Committee the score should be counted in the light of the runs. So the score was 33 to 7 in the University's favor. Their President, however, would not agree, and insisted that the game should be counted entirely theirs, which meant 40 points. He insisted on 40 because he and the players all believed that they would win the afternoon game of association football which would give them 50 points. This with the baseball 40 would give them a total of 90 points out of a grand total of 150, which would make them the winners of the field day, even if we won all the other events. I stuck to the decision of the Joint Committee, and only yielded to our own president's request that we concede to this unreasonable and high-handed insistence when he said to me that we had already gained quite an upper hand. Fortunately for us, we also won the afternoon football match. So we returned to Tungchow with 111 points, which made us the winners. There was no one to see us off when we entrained at the railway station.

"It was poor sportsmanship on the side of the University, but no students understood what sportsmanship was, as it was the first intercollegiate meet ever held in North China. In the light of the athle-

tics of today, when I recall that field day, things then were really ridiculous. We had no coach, no trainer, no athletic uniforms of any kind. We ran and jumped in whatever clothes we happened to be in. We did not know the rules. In fact, we were absolutely green. I remember that one of our long distance runners ran outside of the track and one of the judges had to pull him back. He felt his Chinese shoes were a burden and shook them off during the race, and completed the race in his Chinese socks. In spite of these humorous incidents, he came in third. I took part in the pole vault. I won second place, with a vault of 7 1/2 feet. When one sees that today the record in the plain high jump is 7'3/4" [sic!], such a vault was indeed ridiculous, but it was quite high at that time, over fifty years ago.

"There were no records kept, for we knew nothing of the value of records. The only value of the meet was that it ushered modern athletics into North China. Soon dual collegiate meets and intercollegiate meets began, and it led to the holding of the Far Eastern Olympics in Manila. China, as in many other matters, learned to be modern in athletics by leaps and bounds. After my first trip abroad I returned to my homeland for a few months' visit, and found women students participating in athletics, dressed almost like the men, while American girl athletes were still in their jumpers."

Reference was made earlier (see p. $) to the discouragement by many if not most missionaries of all desire in their students to learn English. That attitude continued well into the post-Boxer period. Jimmy recalled "a prominent missionary who was invited to address the College", saying "'This institution was established for the sole purpose

of training men for the ministry of the church. Therefore no English can be taught, for you students would grow wings with which you would fly outside the church and be engaged in the work of the Devil.'" * Jimmy adds, "I mentioned this fact to a few missionary friends the other day. They thought it incredible. But it was a fact."

However, by Jimmy's day, the prohibition of his father's youth had been somewhat relaxed, to the extent that some English instruction was permitted, and of this Jimmy availed himself. But the serious pursuit of that branch of knowledge was still frowned upon by several of the faculty. "The science professor, who otherwise was rather progressive in his views, aligned himself with others in this non-English-speaking policy. In fact, he was so determined that in later years, when he introduced piano lessons, it was on condition that those who took piano should not study English. I was very fond of music, and I also knew that English was of more practical use to me. So I deliberately chose English, while trying to sneak some music pointers by watching those piano students during their practice. I practiced the points I learned on the piano at night or under moonlight, when I was sure no one was watching. Gradually I became more audacious and practiced in the daytime. This illegal practice was one day discovered by the science teacher, who however did not scold me. Only he remarked to my oldest brother that I ought to be given music lessons."

We next suddendly find him embarked upon a vastly broadening career.

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* This almost certainly was Arthur H. Smith. (Ed.)

A Summer On Kuling

In 1907 the National Committee of the YMCA in China established a summer Chinese language school for their newly-arrived foreign secretaries. This was conducted in the lovely Lotus Valley on the top of a wooded mountain at Kuling, a few miles south of Kukiang, a Yangtze River port roughly a quarter of the way from Hankow to Shanghai. Jimmy, with two other senior students from North China, were invited to be teachers. "By that time", he says, "my brothers had all travelled far and wide, while I was always left at home to keep Mother company. I was then very domestically inclined. When my brothers joked me for knowing nothing outside of the home, I always shamefacedly retaliated by saying, 'A flock of birds do not know how far an eagle can fly'. When I went to Kuling, indeed I travelled much further than my brothers.

"The Peking and Hankow Railway had just been finished. The roadbed was so soft that the trains had to stop over for the night at Chu Ma Tien and Hsin Yang Chow stations, and all the passengers had to alight to have their supper. After three days we reached Hankow, the Chinese Chicago, and a busy city full of activities. It is situated in the center of China in a rather low region. The heat in the summer was very high, and humidity was also very high, making the weather rather unbearable. At night the unusually large mosquitoes plagued the new arrivals until we could not endure their fierce attacks. We therefore decided to board a steamer to go to Kiukiang, which took us down the river at night.

"There early we engaged sedan chairs for the trip up to Kuling.

We were from North China where only high officials used sedan chairs. We, the ordinary people, could not bear the chairs. So we abandoned them and decided to climb the mountains, which looked very easy to climb. There is a Chinese proverb, 'Looking at the mountains, you run your horse dead'. I means one does not recognize the actual distance. It was so with us. We were full-blooded young students, strong and full of enthusiasm, believing we could just run over the hills to reach our destination. When we were over one flight of stone steps up hill, we discovered there was still another longer flight ahead. Flights of steps up the mountains came to us one after another.

"When we were quite fatigued, we were not yet finished with the countless steps. Added to our tiresome task, storm and heavy rain poured down on us during the second part of our climb. Consequently we finally arrived at our destination on top of the mountains absolutely soaked through and through, just like wet chickens. Fortunately it was summer. The perspiration kept some of the rain water away, and we were young. A hot bath immediately after our arrival was sufficient to keep pneumonia away, and we were soon ourselves again. We were assigned our students, a few secretaries who would be designated to work in the YMCA in North China.

"There was an old professor in the group. * Some forty years earlier, he and his wife had been missionaries in my home town of Tungchow. They had to return to the United States on account of the poor health of Mrs. Beach. During his short stay in Tungchow,

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* Harlan P. Beach

he studied Chinese with my father whom he liked very much. So he chose me to help him in the language study. He was then invited by the Yale-in-China Mission to study the situation of the Yale Mission School established recently in Changsha city, the provincial capital of Hunan Province in Central China. Through Professor Beach I came to know the group of young Yale men vacationing at Kuling. For some reason they took a liking to me, and invited me to join them at the Yale Middle School in Changsha. I accepted the invitation, to begin in 1908.

Yale - In - China

"Filled with the Christian spirit to serve, some Yale University alumni originated the idea to establish a school in China to help her in modern educational development. The idea caught the imagination and enthusiasm of Yale alumni and undergraduates alike, and with the support of both men and money a Yale - in - China movement was started in the year 1906. While the representatives went to Shansi Province to look for a site for the establishment of a Yale School, a wire came from the missionary group in Hunan inviting the representatives to establish the school there, as the province was still undeveloped along modern lines, although the educated people in that province were full of revolutionary spirit. The invitation was accepted, and the Yale School was soon established in Changsha, the provincial capital, in a large rented official residence. Later it grew into a college, with its new site outside of the North Gate of the city. The College prospered and exerted

great influence on many a worthy man in that province, and through its graduates it in turn exerted wide influence in the different activities of the nation. I went to the Yale Middle School in its rented quarters in 1908."

This first year away from North China was an added year of education along many lines, including knowledge of a dietary quite different from that of the North.

"It was the custom of the School to have its teachers eat by turn with the students. When my turn came, I went to the Dining Hall early. The waiters had not yet set the table, but I found a small cup in the center of each table with some red stuff in it. That puzzled me a good deal. Later I learned that the stuff was the most important item in the diet of the people of Hunan. It was pepper jam, which the students must have every meal. The climate was so hot and humid that they must have some hot stuff at every meal in order to stir up the appetite.

"It was also the custom of the School to have the teacher watch by turn the students during their study hours in the evening. The students were curious to learn how educated the teachers were. So one evening a student came to my desk with a dictionary and asked me what one English word meant. It was my luck that he happened to ask me the meaning of a word that I knew, so he went away believing that this young teacher was well educated. Another student wanted to test my sense of discipline. He went outside and returned barefooted with a pitcher. I ordered him to go out and return properly dressed without the pitcher. Afterwards I had no trouble

with the students.

"I felt very sad when the news reached me one day during the summer vacation that the very best student was drowned while swimming. Fortunately his younger brother was saved. This younger brother developed into a leading student of philosophy, and is now a leading philosopher in Communist China. One of the bright students was very studious and older than the others. He came to the United States for further education, became an expert engineer, and is now manager of the largest modern corporation in China. Yale has done much for China, and China appreciated it by taking over 'Yali' and nationalizing the institution by renaming it 'Hsiang-Ya University', meaning 'Hunan-Yale'."

At the end of the school year the Dean * wanted to visit several colleges and universities in North China, and asked Jimmy to accompany him. This was a very welcome invitation, as it would enable him to visit his home once more before departing for the United States, where plans had been completed that he should continue his education at Yale University. However, the letters from New Haven officially authorizing his admission, which should have reached him before his trip north, in some way went astray. After the visitations there was nothing for it but to return to Kuling for the summer. Here the letter finally caught up with him, after it had "wandered all over China". Jimmy felt that this only testified to the efficiency of the postal administration, then by treaty under French control, in that the letter was not finally lost. But the mishap did involve

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* Brownell Gage?

extra travel. Nor were his travels at an end.

Adventures En Route

There were other mishaps before he got away from his native shores. "Coming down the Yangtze from Kuling on my way to Shanghai the river boat called at Nanking, a city I wanted very much to see. The steward told me definitely that the boat stopped at the wharf for at least three hours. So I got off for a stroll along the wharf and the market nearby. Hardly an hour had gone when I returned, to find my boat missing. Instead, I saw a boat floating down the river which I was sure was not mine. But it was, with all my belongings! I was flabergasted, as I did not know anybody in Nanking to turn to.

"Suddenly I vaguely recalled that one of my family's old friends recently had moved to that big city to be associated with the Quaker Mission. But I did not know where the Mission was located. Nevertheless, I engaged the only means of conveyance at that time, a horse carriage, to go into the city to find my only source of assistance.

"Between the dock and the Drum Tower in the center of the city lay an enormous stretch of agricultural land whose annual yield was enough to support the whole population for several months in time of siege. So the carriage traveled for several hours through agricultural land inside the city before we reached civilization. Luckily for me, the first policeman of whom I made inquiry directed me

to a church compound which gave me the proper location of the Quaker Mission. The family friend was greatly surprised to find me alone at his home. He gladly loaned me enough money to see me through to Shanghai by train when I told him my tale of woe. I arrived at the dock in Shanghai just in time to see my ship coming in. And I found my things all intact. The cabin boy was very honest. He had the cabin locked when he learned that for some unknown reason I stayed on land.

"My first visit to Shanghai was a great surprise and a mixed pleasure and sorrow. It was fabulous. One could purchase anything under the sun if one had the money. But the unequal treatment of the Chinese natives by the foreigners was great. To me, an outsider, it was entirely a mystery why the foreigner should enjoy so many privileges which the Chinese natives were denied. An even greater mystery was the missionaries. They seemed to belong to another category. I was advised not to approach those missionaries who worked in the Associated Mission Treasurers office. Chinese were reluctantly received but not welcomed. It was better to be away as far as possible. Otherwise, a Chinese might be rebuffed. Even the other missionaries might not receive a native unless he spoke English and was accustomed to foreign ways. I was surprised to find it so, for did not the missionaries come to China to save the souls of the Chinese and to serve them? How could they do the soul-saving work among the Chinese by keeping themselves away from the Chinese natives? One man told me convincingly that they have been influenced by the haughty attitude of other foreigners working and living in the Settlements [Concessions]. They worked only for money, and enjoyed exclusive rights and privileges

through the Unequal Treaties. The worst imperialism there was.

"If for nothing else, the driving away of these imperialistic foreigners from Shanghai and completely restoring China's rightful authority to Shanghai by the Communist Government is the one thing that should be recorded to the credit of the Communists.

"It must be said that previous to the coming of the Communists, and in recent years, this haughty attitude has very much changed, due to some of the foreigners' reasonable understanding of the changing situation on the one hand, and the rising of the Chinese both in cultural and international ability on the other. One day I was trying to get out of a crowded trolley car. In order to be showy to his lady friend, a foreigner deliberately made it difficult for me to get out. When I stared at him hard and told him not to make himself a fool, he withdrew. Without English, A Chinese used to be subjected to all sorts of humiliations at the hands of these foreigners."

Jimmy was subject to one more humiliating experience before leaving his native land. The passport secured at Tientsin had to be visad by the American Consulate in Shanghai before he could buy his steamer ticket. "This visa having supposedly been secured, the steamship company discovered a slight discrepancy in my passport. It was Saturday afternoon, when the Consulate was closed, and it took considerable doing to locate the visa officer at his home. At first, the Consul refused to see me on the ground that I was a Chinese, for, as he hollered at his 'boy', he never allowed any Chinese to come to his home for anything. Finally I got the discrepancy righted by the Consul through my humble imploring. It was quite a trial to be humbled by foreign imperialism.

But there was nothing I would not do to enable me to go to America.

"Some years later this very Consul * in his old age became the General Secretary of the Yale Mission while I was a senior at Yale. He never knew that I was the Chinese student who battered down his haughty attitude in Shanghai some years earlier. We became good friends for a more noble cause. When everything was in order I sailed for the United States on the maiden voyage of the Tenyo Maru,- I, a boy absolutely green and knowing nothing of American customs.

Education In The United States

"In my younger days I came upon a humorous book by a Japanese writer entitled 'A Dumb Travels'. The writer did not know any foreign language or customs. So he made numerous mistakes while touring America and Europe. I was not so bad, but I also made many ridiculous mistakes." And there were troubles other than "ridiculous mistakes" that pursued Jimmy and must have sorely tried his patience. "Unhappily, some trouble developed in my left eye the day before we reached San Francisco. On account of that trouble the quarantine officer would not allow me to land, mistakenly taking it to be a case of trachoma. Fortunately the Shanghai Y had cabled to the Y in San Francisco about my arrival. So the Student Secretary came to the ship to welcome me with a doctor who proclaimed me free from trachoma. He said, 'I am not the immigration doctor, and therefore have no authority to allow you to land.' But he advised me to loaf on board and read nothing. I never spent so long an eight days. On the ninth day

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* (Almost certainly Amos Wilder, Sr. - Ed.)

the Immigration Doctor came again, and took us in a prisoners' van to a place by the sea called 'The Immigration Boarding Place', where two more doctors examined us, and I was cleared. In my emotional discharge from the ship I forgot to tip the cabin boy who had been very sympathetic and helpful to me all through the voyage. Going through the Customs, the inspector asked me how much opium I had in my luggage. I answered, 'Full of it'. I quickly went off, with no inspection.

"The Student Secretary of the San Francisco Y was very kind to me. I got off the ship rather late in the day. He suggested that it would be enough for me to thank the General Secretary by telephone. When he put the call through I could hear nothing but a lot of noises. Before leaving China there was no telephone, and at that time the telephone in the United States was far from being as good as it is today."

Jimmy's stay in San Francisco, once he got ashore, was brief. "I just had time to call on a very dear lady missionary teacher. Of course she was delighted to see me. I was, however, surprised at her warning and objection to my coming to the United States. She said, 'Shaowen, I am sorry that you came to America to learn more, for you will see many unchristian things and experience more, which may destroy your Christian faith that we worked so hard to inculcate in you in China.' Why work so hard to inculcate into us the Christian spirit yet at the same time not tell us certain things about her own country which are not Christian? It is quite all right to tell us the truth about the United States. All countries have good and bad sides.

That was no surprise. Even in a single individual there is a good side and a bad side. A Chinese proverb says, 'People are not all saints; therefore cannot all be sinless.' To tell us the partial truth and be afraid of the other cannot be sound ground for such an objection.

"Her objection, I am happy to say, did not come to fruition. I am seventy years old, and have been back from my education in the United States for over forty years. I still retain my Christian faith, in spite of the many unchristian things that I witnessed in the United States, because I also was received by several real Christian homes whose Christian love for the Heathen was genuine beyond doubt, and whose equal treatment of them could only come from a Christian heart. I also saw real Christians in the United States, and they told me by their Christian deeds what real Christianity was like. If true Christians could act as such, I could not give up my Christian faith. That faith is further strengthened by the great help I derived from it in my trials and tribulations during the past ten years under Communist domination in China. Without it I would have withered, and with it I was able to bear all such trying experiences. Thank the Lord for giving me such a faith which stood me in good stead, no matter what my missionary friend had objected to when I called on her in San Francisco."

Across The Continent

The travel narrative now continues: "The Student Secretary prepared a basket of edibles for me to take to the train. He told me there was enough food in it to supply my breakfasts and lunches on the

train, and I only needed to take my supper in the diner. But when I went to the diner, I did not know how to order my supper. However, I noticed the man sitting opposite me at the table had something which happened to be what I liked. So I just pointed to that man's dish and said 'Same thing'. I had Boston beans, cheap and tasty; - it turned out to be a dish a poor boy could afford and like.

"From San Francisco to Chicago was a long journey of more than two days. The train ride became rather monotonous. The passenger opposite me tried to engage me in conversation. 'What are you doing in my country?' he enquired. 'To study', I replied. Then he talked to me for a long time, using a good many slangish expressions which I did not understand. My English was very poor and scanty, and as I had just arrived in the United States, my scanty vocabulary contained no slang. He used the expression 'butt in' many times. So I asked him what he meant by that expression. He said, 'Boy, you see we are talking together, and another person sticks in; that is Butt in.' I asked him what he meant by 'stick in'. He said, 'Boy, I give up!' I guess we are so used to using slangish expressions that we try unconsciously to explain one piece of slang by another.'

"We had about eight hours at the Chicago station to transfer to another train that would take us to the East. I wanted to use the long hours to visit Chicago University, but did not know how to get there. A fellow passenger told me to ask a policeman. I spotted one, and he took me to a streetcar and instructed the conductor to let me off at the University. The conductor let me off in front of

of an imposing building in a wide (open) section of the city with numerous automobiles running through the streets. I timidly enquired of a young lady sitting inside the building where the University was. She smiled and then said, 'Sir, this is the registration building of the University.' There were always at least two policemen standing guard in front of a university in China. No one is allowed free entrance. The university is always surrounded by high walls on all sides. It was something unheard of to have automobiles running through all the roads in a university. So it was no wonder for me to enquire where the university was.

"I still had a few hours to spend when I returned to the station. So I went to a barber shop to get a hair cut in order to make myself presentable in New Haven. It was my first hair cut in the United States, and I did not know the proper expressions. When the barber came and asked what my wish was, I replied, 'Cut hair'. Fortunately I did not say 'Cut head', as we say in Chinese. After haircutting, he followed with the question whether I wanted 'shampoo and massage'. I thought to myself that since I came to America to seek experience, I might as well have everything. My American teachers had briefed me in China that a haircut, with or without the other things, had the same price - twenty-five cents. So why not have all? At the end the barber presented me with a bill of over two dollars. My first impression was that the barber had deliberately overcharged because I was an ignorant 'Chinaman'. On second thought I realized I could be wrong. In order to show that a Chinese could afford to spend two dollars for a hair cut, I peeled off a two-dollar bill, and paid him. I proudly walked out of the shop, but I have never had a shampoo in

any other barber shop since! I quietly figured out that I had spent more money on that haircut than the Chinese Emperor Kuang-hsü had ever spent! I do not intend to have that part of my education improved anywhere.

"When my train pulled into the station at New Haven, Prof. Beach's son was on the platform to welcome me. Prof. Beach asked, when I arrived at his house, if I did not wish to go upstairs and wash up. I was green, and did not understand properly that expression. So I went up and took a long bath. When I came down from the second floor, the entire family was waiting for me for a supper that had been waiting a long time. I then realized that there were many things that I must learn."

An Unfortunate Failure

Before continuing with Jimmy's American experiences, this may be a good place to record some general observations on what he felt has been the failure of this country to do all that might be done to influence for good the foreign students, particularly the Christian students sojourning here. He says, "Not all Chinese students have such good opportunity as I had to experience personally the magnificent Christian treatment during their sojourn in the United States. Many of them, indeed, had opportunities only to see the seamy side, and, consequently, returned to China more agnostic and had more to say against Christianity. About ten of us living near Columbia University at one time had the unique idea that the Chinese students and the Japanese students should get together and honestly exchange views.

But there was a Chinese graduate student from Hunan Province who prided himself with having had no contacts whatever with Americans. He objected to such a gathering without looking into what the real motive was. In fact, he believed that he had come to the United States only to study, and he cared for nothing else. What could he do when he returned to China along the lines of international understanding and relationships? Would he not return just as ignorant as when he had come, about what was good in the United States which might do good to dear old China? The gathering did not last long because several of the original sponsors had to leave. Some returned to their home countries, China and Japan, and some went to Europe.

"Rightly or wrongly, one sees the wisdom of Soviet Russia in training the foreign leaders who become their efficient stooges in the different satellite countries. She has a definite university with a definite policy in dealing with foreign students. The result is that the graduates preach their doctrine in their own countries faithfully and diligently, The United States lacks such an institution and policy. Certainly I do not suggest that the United States follow the Russian lines. Yet in view of what the graduates of American institutions have done to and in China, and what the men trained by the Russians have been able to do in the same countries, one immediately comes to the conclusion that the United States should have a definite policy, not a selfish one, for training the many Chinese students now studying in different American colleges and universities, so that when they return to their countries they will be only a blessing to the entire world.

"There are several thousand Chinese in China who are graduates of American institutions of higher learning. Many of them held at differents times high positions in the Chinese government. China is now completely in the grasp of Communism. The several thousand returned students from the United States have not been able to do a thing to prevent it. It is all due to the fact that they did not learn the spiritual essentials in addition to what they learned in the books and in the classrooms, which will create new thoughts and ideas so essential in building up a new China.

"In spite of America's shortcomings, there are those essentials in American civilization, but most of the Chinese did not get it, and the American government and people did not try hard to give it to these students. So today there is a strong antagonism between these two countries, the two countries who used to be such friendly neighbors.

At Yale

"Although I finally reached my destination, New Haven, I was not ready to enter Yale University. My college education in China did not prepare me for entrance into a large American university. In scientific subjects I was not so far behind, but in the subjects of general arts I was woefully backward. In the first place, I knew too little English, and was practically ignorant in other foreign languages, such as German, French, and Latin. Therefore I had to remain outside the university circle for another year in

order to be properly prepared to take the entrance examinations. Prof. Beach very kindly secured the voluntary help from several students of the Yale Divinity School to tutor me in the foreign languages.

"I could have entered Yale on the strength of my China diploma without the entrance examinations. But I wanted to try everything in connection with American education, so I took the entrance examinations the next year. Even after one academic year I was not fully ready. I passed all scientific subjects, but could not make the grade in arts and languages. It was with the guarantee of both Prof. Beach and the secretary of the University, Dr. Anson Phelps Stokes, that I was allowed to enter with eleven conditions, a rare and dubious distinction. I often joked with my friends, saying that I entered Yale with the largest number of entrance conditions - a record. Through the first three years of college I was able to work off most of the conditions through fairly good work in classes of the same subjects.

"But Latin remained my main obstacle. I always maintained that it was not fair for Yale to allow the Chinese students to substitute Chinese for Greek only, for we had to use English exactly the same as our American classmates who spent only a few years in the study of Greek, whereas we had spent about twenty years in the study of Chinese by the time we were ready for college. I resented this compulsory study of Latin, a language already dead, certainly a language which would mean less to me, no matter what my future career might be. So by the second semester of my junior year the

five Latin entrance examinations had not been removed. Such was my delicate position, and I was much worried, and did not know where to turn. The Entrance Committee came to my rescue. A call came to me one day from the chairman of the Committee with the good tidings that the Committee had just voted to allow the Chinese students to substitute Chinese for both Latin and Greek. I was requested to spread the news around. I enquired whether the decision was retroactive, in other words whather it could also be applied to my case. 'I don't see why not', the chairman replied. So my Latin conditions were to be thus removed, and I was ready to graduate and be an alumnus of Yale, the goal of my ambition.

Mistaken Choices - And Success

"When I entered Yale my aim was to secure an all round and as wide an education as the college rules would permit. Excepting the major and minor requirements, I chose as many courses as possible, with the result that my Yale training was wide, but not deep. In connection with my major course in mining geology, I made a very serious mistake, a mistake which was also that of my class advisor. I found that course very difficult to handle. I could scarcely pass the first few monthly tests. The professor asked me one day whether I was an undergraduate or a graduate student. 'I am an undergraduate', I replied. 'You have no business to be in a course for graduate students only. No wonder your efforts have not been satisfactory. You had better stop', he said. 'I did have enough credits to graduate, so please let me have one more try'. I chose mining geology because I

believed my country greatly needed mining geologists to develop her rich natural resources, forgetting, however, to take into consideration whether I was prepared or gifted in such a line of study.

"Besides, my class adviser should not have allowed me to take the course, because as an undergraduate I did not have the prerequisites required for that course; and my professor should have known at the very beginning that I was an undergraduate by the registration card from the registrar's office. Eventually I failed in the final examination. The professor was kind enough to suggest that he write a special letter to my parents explaining the situation. To this I did not agree, on the ground that my parents would not understand the motive that prompted him to write such a letter, and it would be more perplexing to them. This unfortunate experience leads me to tell all others that in choosing a major course, the first things to be considered are: (1) Are you gifted in such a subject? (2) Are you properly prepared to study such a course? (3) And are you interested in such a course? I made my mistake by not first considering whether I was qualified in those categories. Beside losing much of my valuable time and efforts, it was a great humiliation to fail, because I had always come out on top in my college in China.

"As aforesaid, I wanted to know every phase of American college life. When the college football team coach called for men for the football squad through the Yale Daily News, I also answered. The coach said to me, which I did not at first understand, 'Boy, do you want to get killed?' Seeing that I did not at first understand, he called my attention to those big team men practicing, and remarked, 'You see

those men. You are too light. Better find something else to do.' After one look at those big fellows, I retired, for at that time I weighed only 125 pounds.

"For my English I chose a course in English Essays. The professor asked me to write a story for the final examination, I submitted a story of a Chinese student who finally gave up his American fiancée, not because he loved her less, but more, for at the end he waked up to the fact that life with him in China would not be pleasant, but hard to endure. The professor's criticism was that it sounded well in theory, but not in practice. It only showed that I greatly lacked experience. However, the story was not badly written, so far as the English was concerned.

"The Dean called me to his office one day during the latter part of my Junior year, and told me rather sternly that I must work to get off my German condition. I thought that I had already done so by taking the fall examination in response to the request of my Class Adviser to return earlier from my vacation so that I could do so. I thought that a mistake had been made that lay with the Class Adviser. The Dean asked me not to quibble, but to go to work. I was very indignant, and decided to leave Yale for another institution. In the evening a few of my classmates came to my room and advised me strongly not to leave Yale. I was finally convinced by the argument put forth by one of them. He said, 'No one will believe that a Yale Dean deliberately wronged you, a student, in order to protect a Class Adviser. In dispute, officers of another institution will always believe that the Yale Dean is right, and the student concerned is wrong.' I

remained, and graduated.

"Although the average tennis playing was high, in reality I was not such a poor player. Another good Chinese player paired with me to campaign for the university doubles tennis championship. That year the best doubles team were my classmates. We four fought for the championship. Fortunately for them, they won by a lucky shot. I say it was fortunate for them, because for them to have lost to a Chinese pair would have been quite a humiliation. However, it was quite a glorious thing for us to be the runner-ups.

"The most unexpected athletic glory that came to me was on the Soccer Team. In our contest with Cornell University a corner kick by our side happened to fall on my chest when I was standing two feet in front of the Cornell goal. By simply throwing out my chest I sent the ball in, and we won the contest, 1-0. For my accomplishment, the insignia was also awarded me. For a Chinese student to win the insignia of soccer football was sufficient glory for me when I was not heavy enough to make the American football team - the greatest glory for many undergraduates in any university.

"Among the students the letter 'Y' of the football team, the Phi Beta Kappa key, and editorship of the Yale Daily News were the three most important undergraduate honors. Sad to say, of these three honors, the football 'Y' occupied first place. To an Oriental student, the Phi Beta Kappa key should have been first. But athletics in undergraduate life played an unduly important part, especially in the United States. So my Yale career, though I did not get high honors, satisfied me because I attained my goal of getting as wide as possible a view of American college life.

Adventure Among the Greeks

"Perhaps the most interesting experience of mine in college was the way I was initiated into the Beta Theta Pi Fraternity. There were five Junior Fraternities in the Yale Academic Department. According to custom, on a certain day in November when the College clock struck seven in the evening, all those sophomores desiring to enter a fraternity stayed in their dormitory rooms waiting for the offer to come from the Rush Committees of these fraternities. Those sophomores who were not in their rooms meant that they disapproved of fraternity life, and, should their names be on the selected list, their names would be struck off. I did not know anything about fraternity customs nor the Junior Fraternities, so on that evening I went to the College Y.M.C.A. to read the rewspapers. In walked a classmate and tapped my shoulder lightly and said,'Jimmy, won't you come outside? We would like a word with you.' He looked so serious that I got scared. But I knew that I had not done anything wrong. When I was outside, two others dressed in black said to me, "Jimmy, this is rather extraordinary, but we know you probably do not understand the college customs, so we came here to offer you an election to Beta Theta Pi. We want to have you, and so do your good friends.' So I became a member, and I never regretted it.

"Before one becomes a member of that fraternity, there are still several ridiculous and interesting things that one has to go through. One was what they called 'lose night'. The previous night the neophyte was awakened by a group of members dressed like ghosts, carrying lights painted red in order to frighten him. He was ordered to get

off the bed and kneel to the East. If he knelt in the wrong direction, he would be corrected with a severe spanking. A slip of paper was handed to him containing detailed orders as to what place he was to go the next evening and wait at what house. I was in the charge of a member who was very kind to me, and told me not to go too early. Even then I had to loiter on the block for four hours before the assigned members came and took me away with my head entirely hooded. They were supposed to take me to a place far beyond the end of the car line, and a place I was supposed not to know. Fortunately they did not know the place themselves as well as I did. Being a foreign student, I was wont to loaf around strange places on the outskirts of New Haven. Although I was warned not to take off my hood until they had been gone about ten minutes, I reached the last street car before they did, and according to the rules, had to pay my car fare. To meet the possible need for such an occasion, I had previously placed a dime against my upper gums. I took it out to show the members who were supposed to lose me! Had I not known the place, I would have missed the last car and would have had to walk the whole distance into town, - some ten miles!

"Much can be said against fraternity life. One has to look at it in the light of his own experience. It was usually rumored around that as a rule the junior fraternities did not take Jews, Negroes, or Italians. I was very glad that they took me into Beta Theta Pi, because it was a definite proof that the fraternities are not that snobbish and exclusive. It is important that fraternities be under strict control of the university and a national organization. The

national organization sets certain requirements and standards to which the chapters must conform. Thus they have to behave themselves within certain limits as to what they can do and what they cannot do in the rush period and in the general conduct of fraternity life.

"Students are also human beings. It is the general tendency of human beings to form into groups to cultivate their common tastes and interests. In a large university such grouping cannot be avoided. If the university does not allow fraternities, there will be other organizations, such as eating clubs, etc., etc.. So it seems to the writer that it is best to allow the organization of fraternities, but under strict university control and national management. Personally, I have not been harmed by fraternity life. When later as General Secretary of the Chinese Students Christian Association in North America I had to visit regularly the different colleges, the chapters of our Fraternity accorded me invaluable help.

"Many Chinese students went to Yale because of the famous democratic spirit of the school. This is not wholly true, for while the democratic spirit within a class is very prevalent, there are still snobbish fellows just the same. At the time of the Chinese Revolution of 1911 some Chinese students claimed that I was a Manchu, and therefore ought to be gotten rid of, while there were others who believed that I was Chinese in spirit and ought to be treated like one of them. Finally the latter won. I did not know of this difficulty until some years later. It is indeed funny that I, though a Manchu in name, was full of Chinese revolutionary spirit. Whoever is wrong is wrong, be he a Manchu or a Chinese. The Manchus were wrong at that time, and

they were out of tune with the time by continuing to hold the throne. The days of the monarchy were finished, and those were the days of the Republic. I was for a republic. Therefore the Manchurian Rulers ought to go.

THE NORTHFIELD STUDENT CONFERENCES

"For a foreign student, vacations were very hard to pass. The lucky ones spent their vacations at some friendly homes. But the summer vacations are so long that it was very seldom that students could stay through the whole vacation. Most are unlucky, without invitations to spend even part of the vacation in that way. The summer conferences partly met the need. Conferences of many kinds were held, particularly in the United States, in beautiful locations in the mountains and beside the lakes. Of these conferences, perhaps the one at Northfield, Mass., held under the auspices of the Student Department of the International Committee of the YMCA, was the best known. Here at the beginning of the summer vacation delegates from different colleges and universities gathered. It provided foreign students a fine opportunity to get acquainted with fine Christian young men, and to listen to famous speakers on soul-saving or other strengthening topics. A lot of time was given to athletics, swimming and walking. Intimate discussions took place in the dormitories, conducted by leaders of experience and spiritual accomplishments. I often felt that this Conference supplied me sufficient inspiration to last on throughout the academic year. That was why I attended this conference every year for

nine years, staying in the same dormitory and in the same room, six years with the same roommate. I counted the friendships formed at this conference the most valuable during my sojourn in the United States.

"There was just one unfortunate accident during my years of attendance. In the 1916 Conference, one Chinese delegate was drowned in the Connecticut River. Artificial respiration was to no avail. Finally I had to send a telegram to his home announcing his passing. To preserve his body I had to carry the already stiffened corpse for a distance of ten miles in a delapidated Ford to reach an undertaker's establishment to have the body embalmed. How I could endure the company of a dead man for ten miles at night is more than I can say. I did it, and did not think of it. A wire reply was received the next day, and the affair was turned over to the person designated by the Director.

The Chinese Students Christian Association In North America

While attending the Northfield Conference following my graduation from Yale I received a call to be the General Secretary of the Chinese Students' Christian Association of North America, with office in the International Committee of the YMCA in New York City. I held the position for three years. I accepted the call because this Association afforded the General Secretary the opportunity to serve the Chinese students studying in the different colleges and universities in time of need. I found that in most colleges they had a social professor acting as foreign students' advisor. Some were very understanding, and some

were just the reverse. They did not go out to be friends to the foreign students.

"I found it very difficult to get my fellow students to understand better the good things in the United States. In some cases the students were flatly unfriendly to the country in which they were studying. They did not understand the United States; they simply did not care. If the United States had had a definite policy in dealing with the Chinese students, and had it been faithfully carried out by the college authorities, the situation would have been much better.

"My work was to look after the administrative affairs of the office in New York, and to visit the different colleges and universities in which there were Chinese students. The work was very interesting and important, but because of the lack of sufficient support, it could not be done well or in a way that seemed satisfactory to the General Secretary. One man was not sufficient, and there was not enough support for two men. I was often very busy and in spite of heavy work, I was constantly bothered by the work undone. At the same time it was very gratifying that so many institutions of higher learning did have special professors assigned to the task of befriending the foreign students. Yet without sufficient support - and there was no hope of having more support - this work could not be properly managed. Others who had engaged in it had the same dissatisfaction. And after three years I was therefore compelled to engage myself in another field of service."

Special Trip To China

"When I left China in 1909, it was still a monarchy. In 1911, China

had changed to a republic, due to the Revolution. Changes in almost every phase of national life took place, one after another. The greatest change probably was in education. Old methods were dropped, and new methods took their places. New institutions of higher learning sprang up all over the country. Every young man wanted to attend one of these colleges or universities. Students formed a new type. Education took on a new dress. To acquaint myself with this new educational situation I was sent to visit China by the Committee on Friendly Relations Among Foreign Students. . .

"I was to embark at Seattle. I went to Tacoma first, and spent my Christmas with a totally strange but a truly Christian family. I was greatly touched by the warm treatment I received at that Christian home. Love conquers all. Christian love influenced that home to take a stranger in and give him fine treatment. How can I think otherwise but that God guided that family so magnificently, a total stranger? Can anyone doubt that Christian love can overcome all racial barriers?

"It was at Christmas time, and the northern route on the Pacific was bound to be rough. And it was rough. But we were on the large Canadian Pacific S.S. Empress of Asia. The whole voyage of eight days to Yokohama was very comfortable and pleasant, in spite of the winter storms. There was a honeymoon couple who were on their way to the Far East. There was also a fellow Yale alumnus with his family going to Manila to join a business enterprise. The eight of us had the first class all by ourselves.. Every evening we gathered in the saloon, and with the rocking of the ship glided the whole width of the room back and forth in the armchairs, amidst a good deal of mirth.

"Upon landing in Japan, I purchased a copy of the Japan Advertiser to learn the news of the day. To my great surprise, I found in the editorial section a full account of myself and family. There were only eight of us in the first class, and with the Japanese passengers in the second class we had no communication all the way. Yet there was the full account of myself and family. That speaks well for the Japanese secret service. I had to keep my lips tight during my overland trip through Japan and Korea, for fear that my tongue might slip.

"The railways in the United States pride themselves for the thorough and efficient ways of handling their passenger transportation. The Japanese railways, however, surpass all railways in the way that they cater to the convenience and comfort of their passengers. Just one instance will suffice: In landing at Pusan, Korea, from the train, I was informed by the steward that I could leave all the luggage I needed on the train, and go to visit the city of Shimonoseki; and I would find all my things on the railway station platform in front of my seat on the train. While this was incredible, I decided to take a chance. After visiting the city I went to the station, and all my things were on the very spot on which I had been told by the steward to find them."

(Note by the Editor: There is a slip in the above somewhere, a confusion in geography. But the meticulous care given travellers' luggage by Japanese train attendants is proverbial, and supported by the testimony of many travellers as astonished as was Jimmy.)

"While it was cruel to have Korea under Japanese rule, they did make many improvements. While the train was going through Korea I saw, for example, that the mountain slopes were well covered with

young trees. Reforestation was well underway, done under Japanese plan and direction. I sincerely hope the good work has been preserved by the new independent administration.

"Going through Korea and into China in those days, one could not fail to notice the difference between the two peoples. Koreans were well dressed and behaved, but did not show that they were of sturdy stock. Somehow one gained the impression that they were inherently weak. One found the Chinese people just across the Yalu River uncouth, but full of vim and energy. Inevitably one could not fail to see the hardiness and strength of a people that was destined to be independent.

"I had been away from home for six years, and therefore was very anxious to taste anything produced at home. As it was approaching Chinese New Year, roasted chestnuts were in season. I had been away from home so long, I had forgotten the value of the Chinese dollar. The vender gave me so much for an American dollar that when I got home to Peking I still had more than half of the chestnuts left, in spite of the tremendous quantity I had eaten on the way.

Manchuria was largely populated by people from the province of Shantung who emigrated from their home province on account of the better business conditions in Manchuria, the better soil, much of it virgin, or because of bad years at home. The original Manchus could be found only in very small secluded localities. Hence they say that if you scratch a Manchurian, you will draw Shantung blood. Every spring Shantungese immigrated in large numbers, so large that the Japanese-owned South Manchurian Railway Administration provided special trains to transport them, finding a very lucrative trade. The Japanese

government undoubtedly had designs to populate Manchuria with Japanese immigrants. But the Japanese preferred to remain at home, and their government's design proved a failure. Overpopulation was the Japanese excuse to invade China. Japan wanted to include Manchuria in its map, but her own people preferred to remain at home. Later her military invasion of the South Seas gave the lie to the overpopulation excuse. She wanted to dominate the Far East. That was her wild ambition.

At Home Again

"Aside from the affectionate welcome that embraced me when I got home in Peking, I was soon plunged into the work of visiting institutions and students and leading educators, to see how China had changed, particularly educationally, so that through this learning process I should know better how to associate myself with the students when they proceeded to the United States to further their studies. In connection with this desire to learn the new conditions in China may be mentioned the interview granted me by the President at that time, Li Yüanhung. This was secured through the introduction of the General Secretary of the Peking Y.M.C.A. In our interview the President inquired about the students studying in the United States. He also mentioned that Brazil also wished to have Chinese students, and that he hoped I would have a talk with his secretary, Quo Tsai-chi, whom I had known well when he was a student at the University of Pennyslvania. Accordingly, I called on Mr. Quo the next day. He purposely kept me waiting in his sitting room while he continued to play Mah Jong inside. Finally he

emerged and greeted me formally and inquired what he could do for me. I said, 'I have no favor to ask of you, only the President asked me to have a further talk about Chinese students going to Brazil.' 'I know nothing about it', he replied. That ended our conversation. Others told me later that perhaps he thought I belonged to that large host of returned students who wished to use the interview as a lever to gain entrance into government service, which of course was far from the truth.

"From Peking I was to go to Nanking, Shanghai, Tsinan, and Tientsin. I could not go to South China as transport was slow and I did did not have the time. In Nanking, I was invited to speak to the foreigners. The chairman was a good friend of mine as well as a contemporary at Yale. Evidently he fully realized the importance of the meeting, and had prepared an elaborate speech to introduce me - very unfortunately, because he was a fine man and usually a good speaker. Besides that speech, I had to speak four times more in Nanking, so I arrived in Shanghai very hoarse. There, in the largest city in China, they had arranged for me to speak six times, the most important one being at a banquet of the Western Returned Students' Club, including returned students from Great Britain and the leading universities of the continent of Europe.

"My speech was very ordinary, even if I did not entirely fail in my effort, but I remember one incident. Mr. Tang Shao-yi, a former prime minister, came with his concubine, and was seated in the seat of honor opposite me. He joked with one of his former ministers, a good friend, that he, the friend, had not had the

nerve to bring along his concubine as he had done. His friend said that he had no concubine. Mr. Tang said, 'I know you have one whom you have probably concealed somewhere and are afraid to have your friends know it.' In spite of his friend's vigorous denial, Mr. Tang persisted in his belief.

"From Shanghai I went to Tsinan, the capital of Shantung Province. In olden times high officials all wanted to be appointed to be Governor of that province. This was because the famous Living Water Lake and many springs in different parts of the city of Tsinan make it the most beautiful provincial capital in the country. At the time of my visit the mayor was a General Ma, one of the leading Mohammedans in the nation. He was very progressive, but had some queer progressive ideas. He was late for the meeting at the Y.M.C.A. at which he had been invited to preside. Upon his arrival he apologized profusely for being late, giving Japanese trouble-makers as the excuse.

"In introducing me as the principal speaker he began to expound some of his progressive ideas. He said, 'You all know that I believe our nation should be very progressive. There is a slit in the side of my dress which is rather short for the official position I hold, because the long gown is too clumsy. The slit is for carrying a sword for defense and self-protection, which all people should be able to do'. Then he remarked that for introducing the speaker of the day he had not had time to prepare. He asked the audience what he should speak on. Then he suddenly thought of a subject. He would speak on evolution.

"He said, 'I am a practical man. I do not readily believe in what others say. I must have proof. People say that we are descended from

the monkeys. Both my Koran and your Bible say human beings are created by God out of the dust of the earth. I believe in the latter, not only because those two Holy Books say so, but because I also proved it myself. When my first baby was born, I did not give him anything to eat for three days, but I found mud in between his small toes. I treated my second and third children in the same manner, with the same results. That proved to me beyond doubt that men are created by God out of dust.' This queer talk lasted a long time. When he finished his talk on evolution, he yielded the floor to me to deliver the main speech. But he had already exceeded the time limit. Excepting a few remarks fitting the occasion, I did not give my main speech.

"The Governor wanted to demonstrate further his progressiveness by actual exhibition, so he invited me to see his Corps of Boxers which he kept for that purpose and for which he was famous in the country. Accordingly, I went the next day and witnessed a really remarkable exhibition of Chinese boxing of different kinds. The boxers with sword and spear actually fought and aimed to kill. When the boxer with the spear nailed the boxer with the sword against the wall, it was only by an order to stop that he was saved. I also witnessed a wonderful show of Monkey Styled Boxing. An old man well beyond sixty gave a rare exhibition of how a monkey boxes. He rolled on the ground so skillfully just as if he had no bones at all. No wonder he believed in self protection.

Engagement

"When I first came home to Peking my mother wanted to talk with me about a girl in the hope that I would get engaged, as, from her

point of view, I was quite old enough. I kept silent. In her indignation she asked, 'Are you already married to an American girl? Some missionaries who returned from the States informed me you were quite a dandy.' I said I was indeed married to an American girl. And I had left the girl with a friend in Seoul, Korea. I came ahead to feel my way. If she is welcome, I shall go back to get her. Otherwise, I shall pick her up on my way back to the United States. Mother was a smart woman. She at once saw the joke, and did not believe it at all. I told her then that my return was on business. I could not talk about any private affairs first. There would be one month of vacation for me when the business was finished, and only then would I be ready to listen to whatever she desired to say to me. So she waited. My business ended with my visit to Tsinan.

"Mother immediately jumped on me when I returned. It probably was my fate when I touched the very girl's photograph when Mother asked me to pick the girl on whom she and my sister had had their eyes for some years, although I did not know her at all. Through the help of a millionaire friend of the family, the engagement was sealed by my personally handing the ring to the girl myself. The engagement was half modern, and half conservative. I believed in my family's judgment, but insisted that I myself should be the final judge. It happened that our judgments coincided in this case.

"Regarding this I also recall an essay on love written by a Yale fellow alumnus. In it he claimed that Americans and Chinese differ in love affairs in that with Americans, love comes before marriage, and with Chinese, love comes after marriage. He also claimed that the love that comes after marriage is more enduring. In choosing one's lifemate, I

firmly believe that one should give much weight to the judgment of one's close relatives. They consider their help in such matters as the most important thing in their lives. They therefore do not manage it in a light manner. Should one rely only on his own efforts, he might be wrong. Does not the proverb say, Love is blind.'?"

An Untoward Incident

There is an incident connected with Jimmy's engagement that he does not mention, which should not be omitted, however, in any account of his career, for it well illustrates the rapid change in social customs going on in China at that period. While the editor of these memoirs was living in Peking at the time, he did not witness the incident; but for several days it was a frequent topic of conversation among many of the missionary community, especially those of the American Board.

The future Mrs. Ch'üan had come up through the school maintained by the American Board in Peking. She was about to receive her diploma from the Union Women's College. This institution had been getting settled all through the year in which would be its lovely quarters, "The T'ung Fu". The college, later to be a component of Yen Ching University, was in fact holding its first graduation.

The American Board people were justly proud of Bridgman Academy, from which the young lady had graduated, as well as the College. Dr. Luella Miner, who had given the best years of her life to Christian education for Chinese girls, rightly saw in the College, just coming into being, the crowning achievement of her long and distinguished career. Probably on familiar terms with more prominent Chinese, both women and men, than any other American Board missionary, and honored and respected by all who knew her, she had ideals of the highest for all the girls in Bridgman and the College, many of whom came from highly placed families of Peking, and other parts. She held in high regard many of the stoutly cherished social conventions of the Chinese; and, looking forward to the approaching time when educational leadership should be transferred to Chinese colleagues, she wished that no shadow of indecorous conduct should fall upon the schools or anyone associated with them.

Not long before Jimmy was to return to the United States he was invited to dinner one evening at the home of Rev. and Mrs. Harry Martin. After the meal he was asked to go with them to a concert at the nearby "Tung Fu". He demurred on the plea that he had not been invited, but finally yielded. Once there the Martins, ignorant of his engagement, couldn't understand his obvious unease, hardly raising his head the whole evening but looking steadily at the floor. He has seen his fiancee's name on the program! Next day, Dr. Miner called on the Martins and upbraided them for committing a gross breach of long established Chinese etiquette - abetting a prospective groom in his attendance at an open social meeting where his bride-to-be would be present! It took some persuading to convince her that neither they nor their guest had wittingly done so.

The storm blew over rather quickly, and neither the discipline of the student body was affected nor did conservative parents lose their confidence in the school as a place where their daughters could be safely educated!

The Value Of Christian Homes In The United States

"When I saw again my missionary teacher in San Francisco in 1909, she expressed sorrow to see me in the United States because I would see many unchristian practices which would deny the Christian faith that she and other missionaries had tried to inculcate in us in China. I began to entertain much doubt as to the wisdom of my choosing the United States to further my education abroad. What value was it if I gained additional education but lost my Christian faith? I am happy to say that education in the United States further strengthened my Christian faith because of the

following experiences.

"I was once literally driven out of a Jewish clothing store because I asked to try on several suits before I would decide to buy one. The Jewish manager of the store said to me very rudely that I better get out because he saw that I did not have money to buy clothing and was troubling him for nothing. I was in a barber shop and the barber said to me, "You get out! We don't cut the hair of a Chinaman." Once I was looking for a place to rent. The landladies of several rooming houses told me the rooms had all been rented, wheras the "For Rent" notices were in front of the houses. They did not want to say frankly that the rooms could not be rented to a Chinese student. Such experiences and many more were sufficient to make a Chinese doubt that the United States was a Christian country. Would it not be wise for him to leave for a European nation? Worst of all I was once refused admittance to a church on Sunday because that church did not welcome foreigners. Didn't we worship the same God? Didn't Jesus instruct his disciples to preach the Gospel to the heathen? Didn't these people contribute money to send missionaries to Christianize the land from which we came? Such an attitude was indeed most baffling and unchristian. Fortunately there were other experiences which far out-balanced these unfortunate ones, as evidenced by the following case.

"A Yale friend one day asked if I would like to visit an American home which belonged to his fiancée. At first I hesitated fearing that home would not welcome a foreign student. Upon my friend's insistence I yielded and we went. I am glad that I went, for that home

opened my eyes to what a real Christian home is like, and could do, and is willing to do for a foreigner. The hearty welcome, the equal treatment that I received, the parental care that was given me, made me think seriously that a real Christian home was indeed quite different. Later on I learned the lady of the house extended a hearty welcome to all the foreign students from many countries at her home. It did not matter in the least whether they came from Asia, Africa, or any other couhtry. She had already formed lasting friendships with foreign students from many countries although she was not a woman of college education and culture. It was enough for her to have a Christian heart, big enough to encompass all.

"A fraternity brother once took me to his home. His father was an indifferent member of the Church but his mother was a devout Christian and considered by all to be a pillar of the Church. In addition to giving me a wonderful welcome to her home, from her I learned what and how much a Christian woman could do for her home, and through her how much influence she could exert on the community. The father and the eldest son could not get along together. Whenever one expressed an opinion there was bound to be a clash between them. However, they always stopped arguing whenever the mother quietly said a few words in her Christian manner. In that way she was able to build a Christian home under very trying conditions. Even though I left that home many years ago, I cannot be out of that lady's Christian influence as my wife and I try to build a home of our own.

"A friend of mine was in charge of the Home Missionary Work of his Church. He was well to do, having received much wealth from his

father. He believed that God gave him the money for unselfish purposes. He had a good and comfortable home whose doors were always open to all foreign students in his community. I didn't need to ring the bell at his house. I always knew where my bedroom was. I could raid the icebox whenever I wanted to get something to eat. It was indeed quite a consolation for a foreign student to have such a home to go to during the days when classes were closed.

"I have mentioned only three of the inspiring Christian homes in which it was abundantly evident to me what great things real Christian homes could do for the Christian enterprise and foreign students, and above all help to strengthen their Christian faith which otherwise would have been lost. I was one of the few who were lucky enough to gain such experiences that were of great help to me in keeping my Christian faith until today. But there have been many others who have either lost their Christian faith or have become more agnostic on account of unfortunate experiences.

"An older Chinese friend worked hard in order to save enough money to go to the United States to further his medical training. The happy day for him finally did come when he was able to embark for the land of his dream. I was then the General Secretary of the Chinese Student Christian Association in North America with my office in New York City. One day he suddenly showed up in my apartment. I was very happy to see him. I took him to a Chinese restaurant to have a Chinese meal with me, which he could not get where he was studying.

To my great surprise he said, "I do not want to see New York City or any other place for that matter. I want only to see you,

then I shall be homeward bound to be a heathen among the heathen. I came to this country, a Christian, full of happiness and enthusiasm. But they refused to recognize me as a student seeking additional medical knowledge and to acknowledge me as an equal. All in one day I received such treatment: a shoe-store refused to sell me the pair of shoes that suited my size and taste and literally booted me out of that store because I was a Chinese. A watchsmith declined to repair my watch. A barber would not cut my hair. A group of street urchins followed me on the street calling me, 'Chin, Chin, Chinaman.' This is not a Christian country. It is worse; it is an uncivilized country. I shall not live in it a day longer." So he returned home totally disappointed and bitter towards the United States.

"While there are many things in American life that should be corrected, even for America itself, there are many features of Christian life in America which can do much for foreign students. Whether the foreign students will be friends or foes of the United States depends upon the treatment they receive along with their education.

Chinese Laborers' Y.M.C.A. In France

"When I returned to the United States in the late spring of 1917, there were more than one thousand Chinese laborers on the same ship who had been recruited by the British to go to France via Canada. In my repeated conversations with them I discovered that, due to shortage of man power for the First World War, the British and French authorities had reached an agreement with China to allow them to recruit laborers

to go to France to work in the Service of Supply areas behind the lines. According to this agreement, they were not to be engaged in front line fighting. Although a small number were recruited in Kiangsi Province, the main force came from the Shantung Penninsula, with the port of Tsingtao as the place of embarcation.

"A total of about 200,000 had been thus recruited. The majority worked for the British army, and about fifty thousand with the French. The British treated their laborers as soldiers, and they were organized as a military corps. The French treated them as day laborers. By the time I returned to the United States Y.M.C.A., war work had been well established in each camp with the British Expeditionary Force. There was no reason why similar work should not be established for the Chinese laborers who worked like soldiers, although behind the lines. The teaching of any religion in any organization during the war was forbidden by the French government. But Y.M.C.A. work, minus the religious part, was soon organized for the Chinese laborers under the auspices of the War Work Council of the International Committee of the Y.M.C.A. in North America.

"This Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. program in France paid special attention to education. It was considered the best opportunity to give these men sufficient education for them to return to their home communities in China properly informed of international conditions and knowledge; for most of them came from China totally illiterate and ignorant. Therefore in addition to the lectures on educational topics conducted by the secretaries in the various Y huts, special weekly classes were also organized for Chinese reading and writing.

Altogether, more than fifty Y huts were established, and at one time about two hundred secretaries of five nationalities were engaged in this piece of very important Y work. The majority of the secretaries were from the United States."

It was not surprising that Jimmy soon found himself in France as one of the directors of thie program. "Many Chinese students gave up their studies in order to volunteer for this service when I issued my 'trumpet call' for recruits. One gave up his pursuit of a Ph.D. to be the first person responding to my call for this patriotic and Christian service in France. They were each given a subsidy of only sixty francs a month. Yet many volunteered. The Allied High Command discovered early in the war that it was important to keep the morale of the armies high, and the best means was to organize YMCA work for the men. In their spare moments, instead of fooling around, they could make proper use of their time in athletic games, in reading and writing and listening to good lectures, all organized by the Y. For the Y went there with what the men wanted.

"It was a great pleasure to see the progress made by some of the laborers. After a little while those originally illiterate could read the simple daily papers and write letters home. Some became quite advanced, and became teachers themselves. Through this educational program many of them were able to return to China much better informed of the country in which they had worked. As the British organized the laborers in military style, at the time of discharge they were able to repatriate practically the entire number, missing only eight or ten. The French had organized them as laborers, and consequently were not

able to repatriate all. A few hundred were left in France where they became quite Frenchified. All in all, it was a good undertaking. When the men returned to China they were able to take their parts in Mass Education work. But it was bad to report that some of them introduced the French system of warfare into the Bandit General Chang's army.

"There are two things in particular that ought to be mentioned. As aforesaid, there were five nationalities among the secretaries. Most of them worked on the battlefields at the front. The chief work of the laborers was to clear the battlefields. So the secretaries had to work under trying conditions, yet not a single case of disagreement came to the attention of the head office. There had been perfect unison in the work. I presume that was because they volunteered for the work, and because the only objective was the welfare of the Chinese laborers. When people work for the welfare of others, they automatically and constantly think of them and not of themselves. Another thing was the studious way that the laborers during their rest minutes pulled out the stamplike cards with Chinese characters written on them, and studiously pursued their daily lessons.

Versatility

"In this connection one case may be mentioned. In one of the huts on the northern coast of France the men wanted to observe their own New Year. Early one morning the secretary discovered a red couplet appropriate to the season posted on the pillars of the stage erected for the plays in which most of them acted like experts. The

couplet was well written. Upon inquiry the secretary learned that two laborers who before leaving China were teachers in a normal college, had long cherished their intention to go abroad. But they neither had the money nor the opportunity. When they heard about the recruiting of laborers for work in France, they responded to the call, believing this would at least partly fulfill their ambition. They wrote that couplet, as well as many letters, for the laborers.

"It is reported that the Chinese are born actors. In the light of what the Chinese laborers did in France, this is not far from right. In nearly every Chinese labor camp in France there was a stage of some sort. When one keeps in mind that they were far from home, largely ignorant, yet able to stage Chinese operatic plays in temporary make-up costumes and with proper language, one marvels at the wonderful memory and great sagacity that they showed, carrying out as carefully as possible the details of such difficult plays. Sometimes their originality ran into ridiculous forms. In one camp they wanted to stage the popular play, 'Nan Tien Men' (The South Gate of Heaven) because the man who used to be famous for the part of the old hero happened to be one of them. But most important was the long white beard which the leading man must have swing to and fro. They were not able to procure one, and I failed to get one for them in Paris. However, finally the actor appeared on the stage with a beautiful long white beard. And he refused to tell. The French woman who daily placed her stand in front of the hut to sell her wares to the men, one morning came gesticulating for the loss of something. In the excitement of her language, half understood by all present, the secretary in charge was able to make out that the beauti-

ful tail of her white horse was missing. The famous labor-actor was there and enjoying the fun. The secretary asked him about his long white beard. He blushed and quietly slunk away. It seems that out of sheer desperation they had spotted that tail one day, and knew it would make a beautiful beard. So several of the laborers cooked up a fight with the woman, and during the commotion they cut off the tail. The tail was a great success, but the horse had to go back and forth each day with nothing to swish.

"One evening near sunset as I was returning from a visit to the battlefield of Vimy Ridge, made famous by the Canadian troops, there came floating through the air a very beautiful song of the opera, 'Tien Shui Kwan'. A Chinese laborer returning to his camp after the day's work had evidently felt jubilant and homesick at the same time, and sang that famous song to assuage his loneliness. But for a Chinese soul to hear that song sung so beautifully and floating through the air at sunset in a strange land by a lonely Chinese laborer was an experience that had everlasting value.

"Although China did not take part in the actual fighting in World War I, she had contributed 200,000 laborers who worked behind the lines, thus releasing many men to do battle at the front. When it came to the Paris Peace Conference, the Japanese delegates maintained that their contribution to the war was solid and wide, and that therefore they should be awarded permanent hold on what she had gained in Shantung Peninsula. The justice of China's case was universally recognized. But the Paris Peace Conference finally turned into an occasion for dividing the spoils of war, and the stronger of the Allies won.

"The United States had been with China right along, but at this juncture President Wilson sent a special representative to the Chinese delegation advising it to yield to the Japanese demands for the time being, and saying that the League of Nations when it was well organized could present China's case, and the American delegation would be all for China. President Wilson placed more emphasis on the League than on justice. As a result, the League was born, and fortunately China did not yield, because the United States never joined the League.

"During the Peace Conference the Chinese Delegation repeatedly mentioned the Labor Battalions as China's contribution to the war, so the high officials decided to visit the laborers in their cantonments. They were so impressed with the men and their work on the former battlefields that they believed the Chinese government ought to do something substantial for them when they got back to China as a commemoration, and proclaimed that they would petition the Central Government to set up a special institution to give further training to those laborers or their descendants. Unfortunately, political vicissitudes prevented them from carrying out their good wishes. The leaders of the delegation were all politicians, and therefore subject to the fortunes of politics. Before they could make any proposal to the Government, they lost their own positions. So nothing ever came of it. To compel the Government to do something, the laborers in France started a movement to contribute their mites to the establishment of a school in China. The movement stopped short because it soon developed that some rogues, officers of the labor camps, had begun to take undue advantage of this undertaking.

Marriage

"Originally I promised to serve only one year in France. When my time was up I planned to return to the United States. The War Work of the Y.M.C.A. refused to let me return to the United States, and requested me to continue to serve in France. As my sister and fianceé were waiting for me in New York City, for a time I did not know what to do, knowing well that I still had something to contribute to the Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. in France. Finally, upon their own initiative, they suggested that they should come to Francé so that we could be married in Paris.

"So we were married in Paris at the Headquarters of the Y.M.C.A. Although the wedding party was small and simple, the best of friends were present. Both the Chinese Delegation to the Paris Peace Conference and the Chinese Legation were well represented. While the bride was properly dressed for the occasion, the groom had only the uniform and a dirty trench coat to wear. It may be mentioned, however, that my wedding went off with the proper trimmings. Two of the children of one of my American associates, Mr. Roscoe Hersey, for many years General Secretary of the Tientsin Y, were the ring boy and flower girl. The boy, John Hersey, grew up to be a fine scholar and well-known writer.

"Through my wedding I also got into another Christian family. My parents-in-law were both prominent members of the Presbyterian Church in Cheefo, Shantung. My mother-in-law was the first lady in North China to be conversant in English - a considerable accomplishment seventy or eighty years ago. She was brought up by missionaries, and became a strong pillar of the church. Father-in-law graduated from a well-known

college in Teng Chow, Shantung, after which he went with several contemporaries who were invited to help organize the first part of Peking University, then called the Yi Hsueh Yuan.

"The Boxer Movement in 1900 created an upheaval, and the College was closed and the faculty members had had to do their best to get away. Father-in-law went through many different experiences because he was a confirmed Christian, but was finally able to reach home in Cheefoo without severe molestation. Because he answered the government call to serve in the government college, he was considered by the missionaries in Cheefoo as one who had gone to serve the interest of the devil. For several years after his return he was given the cold shoulder by the Church, in spite of his enthusiasm and support of its work. However, assisted by his better-half, he never became cool to it. His support increased when he became better off by working in the Brenner Company, and he also served as an important member of the Board of Directors of the Agricultural Bank. He was active in the Chinese Indigenous Church Movement, which finally resulted in the formation of the Chinese Church of Christ. (Is this what developed into the Church of Christ in China? Several Missions were affiliated with this church, while quite a few other Missions still considered it as just another denomination.)

"Perhaps Father-in-law was best known as the proprietor of the Kwan Hsing Orchard in Cheefoo. Many of the now popular fruits, such as the Cheefoo apples and pears, originally came from this orchard. He was well known in Cheefoo for his uprightness and straight-forward disposition. His honesty was proverbial. There was no difficulty in attracting subscribers once he became a member of any company. In fact, people

always asked if Elder Yu was a member of the company before making up their minds to join.

"It is said that wives and husbands are frequently opposites. It is the law of nature that one should complement the other. I am not sure of the truth of this viewpoint in other cases, but it was certainly true in my case. I am weak in the management of the family finances. My wife's strong point is in that. That we have been able to live comfortably on a not too liberal monthly salary is in the main owing to her careful and able management of family finances. Before marriage she had had two years of education in the United States, one year at Oberlin, and one at Carleton, from which she graduated in 1919. That training has also been of much help in our co-operative efforts in raising a family of seven children. The most important feature probably lay in the fact that the two families are of similar Christian training and experience. She is a Presbyterian and I, a Congregationalist. There is not much difference in religious attitudes. But there is much harmony in the running of the home and in the bringing up of our children. It has been one of my greatest good fortunes to have married one who has been of much help in and out of the home.

"To go back, we spent our honeymoon in Nice, the best kind of a place at that time of winter. It was warm and the weather was uniformly good. The Thomas Cook cars took us daily on their regular tours of sight-seeing. So within the month we visited all the places of interest on the French Riviera, including the town of La Grasse, where they produce the world's most famous perfumes. Near

the end of our honeymoon our cash ran out. Timidly I enquired of the hotel manager if they would take our check without any question. I wondered a good deal why they would take the check of a total stranger, except for the fact that he believed the chance of fraud was unlikely for a man with his wife, while they were spending several thousand francs as tourists from China travelling on a visit to France.

"I had to take my sister to London soon after my marriage, to place her in school to continue her studies. In passing through Marseilles on our way back from our honeymoon I saw the chief delegate to the Paris Peace Conference (C.T. Wang, Yale, 1910) who informed me that Countess Kan was looking for my sister to teach her in London. It was this delegate who had recommended my sister when the Countess inquired for a teacher. So the Countess met us in London, and took my sister home with her.

"Countess Kan and her younger sister were descendants of a Mr. Kan who in turn was descended from a Prince of the Tai Ping Rebellion, and who, when the Rebellion collapsed, had escaped to the Dutch East Indies. Because of their descent, and with round-about reasoning, the sisters had assumed the titles of Countess and Lady, respectively. After thus entitling themselves, they spent the next years in a fruitless attempt to break into the Four Hundred of London.

These two ladies, haughty, but loving China, hoping to return to China, undertook to study Pekingese. But teaching the Countess Pekingese did not last long, as her theory did not correspond with practice. So after a rather pleasant sojourn in the beautiful

home in Wimbledon, my sister also gave up her studies and returned home.

Marriage And The Fourteen Points

"Among the secretaries of the Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. in France there was one who was rather senior in age. One day I approached him and inquired the reason for his remaining single. He startled me with his reply: 'I shall not get married unless I meet the girl who, like Wilson's ultimatum to the Germans, must meet my fourteen points. She must be gifted in music, be able to dance, speak English well, preferably an American college graduate, etc., etc.' In other words, the girl he wanted must be perfect. Is there such an angel in this world of ours? After all, is not love blind? When we fall in love, we forget everything, not to say the fourteen points, or one hundred points. It took him a long time to get married in China. The girl he eventually married was a woman well qualified to be his wife, but gifted in only one point - English.

Imperialism And Colonialism

"We hear a good deal of the cry against imperialism and colonialism nowadays. Probably nowhere in the whole world can they be better seen than in the ports at which we stopped - Port Said, Djibuti, Colombo, Saigon, and Hong Kong. Originally these were ports of independent states. The British and French in their lofty days of supreme power had wrested them from their states so that European ships would

have their own ports of call on the way to the Far East. They did not care about the independence of the states from which the ports were wrested by hook or by crook, though they valued highly their own independence, and would fight to the death in order to protect it. They did not give a whoop for other states which were too weak to protect themselves.

"In those ports I saw the whites living in palatial residences on chosen spots. I also saw the natives, be they white, yellow, or black, living in low mud cottages and in hovels on low spots full of flies and vermin, and performing labor worse than forced labor, for very low wages. Most of these ports are in the tropics, so the workers were almost naked. There was one standard of justice for the whites and another for the natives. When a native hurt a white he must be severely dealt with, but when a white hurt a native he went off scot-free. Imperialism and colonialism were for the benefit of the Imperialists and Colonialists; what and how the natives suffered in the deal was of no account to them. The latter were the masters and the former were but animals working according to the will of the masters. The fortune of the native depended upon the objectives and character of the masters. In Saigon, Chinese and the natives could smoke opium to their hearts' content, but it was a severe crime if the French did the same. The masters did not want their own number to suffer from the evils of opium smoking, but they allowed the Chinese and the natives to smoke opium because it reduced them to impotency, a state easy for the French masters to govern. In Hong

Kong even today they deal with the natives in different ways. The number of Cantonese far exceeds the number of the Whites. Out of necessity the British masters are more lenient toward the Cantonese in Canton and Hong Kong. Those who come from the rest of China are subject to stiff requirements - like entrance permits and residence cards, etc. In a word the British are clever and in some cases wiser masters than the French, but they all work for their own gains and the most the master will do for the natives is from necessity rather than from kindness and consideration.

"In China the British for many years controlled the Customs and the French the Postal Service. They did so not because they wished to establish efficient and clean public service for the Chinese, but because they wished to protect the sources of payment of the indemnities and loans. They had a strangle hold on the finance of the country through the terms of the Unequal Treaties. China has been able to gain her independence in part through her own efforts but also by disagreement among the leading powers as to how to dismember China.

"The 'liberation' brought by the Communists completed the independence of China so far as imperialism is concerned. But another form of imperialism came in at the same time: Communist Imperialism. While this new imperialism does not oppress the people in the ways that the old imperialism did, people who live under it have no liberty and freedom, the two greatest essentials in living. What the future will be without these two essentials remains to be seen. China is going through that stage of living when even the individual belongs to the State or the Party. The future is indeed very dark.

Monte Carlo

"In visiting the Latin towns or countries one always sees an elaborate casino in which people gamble. Few fortunes were made and lots of money was lost. I was interested when I discovered this in going into the palatial buildings at Monte Carlo. To gamble in the evening the men must be dressed in formal attire and the ladies in evening dresses before they were admitted. I presume their idea was that only ladies and gentlemen gambled. While there, one gambler from South America had the good fortune to "break the bank". I was told later that his good fortune followed him and he was able to break the banks of all the leading resorts of France. In the next year, on our way returning to China, my brother was with me, (Peter). I took him to see the gambling palaces at Monte Carlo, but he was refused entrance because he was very informally dressed. He had to pay several hundred francs for a formal dress for entrance into those luxurious buildings, because the guards said that only men dressed as gentlemen could be admitted. I wonder what the difference is between gentlemen's gambling and a common man gambling!

St. Beatenberg Conference

After our return from southern France I was appointed a delegate to St. Beatenberg, Switzerland, for the first conference of the World's Committee of the Y.M.C.A. to be held there, just above the celebrated city of Interlaken. St. Beatenburg offers an ideal loca-

tion for a conference. The only means of transportation to it is by a cog railway train. There were many nations represented. The German delegation interested me very much. They attended dutifully all the sessions without associating with the delegates of other nations. I enquired of one German delegate why it was so: this was a Christian conference after all. "We are afraid of being snubbed, so soon after the war in which we were a defeated nation," he remarked. "We are very much afraid of the French delegates," he added. It was too bad that at a Christian conference on of the delegations would keep to itself. But they must have had reasons for maintaining such an attitude.

There were two other delegates from China. We managed to have breakfast together in order to talk things over. One morning one of the delegates did not like the tone of conversation of the other two. He blurted out with very loud and rude accusations, particularly against one of the others. To my great admiration that delegate remained silent. It took a truly Christian gentleman to bear the insult without fighting back.

Conference In Holland

A few months later a Student Conference was held in a castle in Holland. Again I was a delegate, accompanied by my wife and baby boy. After the Conference the Chinese studying in the different universities in Holland welcomed us at a party to which leading Dutchmen were invited, including the former Governor of the Dutch

East Indies. Before the party quite a few students inquired of me as to how they could return to China and what they could do there, as all of them had been born and brought up in the Dutch East Indies and had gone to Holland for further study. They knew nothing first hand of China, but they were patriotic in their desire to return to China and serve their Fatherland. They were the children of overseas Chinese, but some of them seemed to have more love for China than those of us born and brought up there. It is indeed marvelous and encouraging.

Visiting Germany

From Holland we went to Berlin, Germany. Early next morning I entered a drug store to buy medicine for my baby's stomach. At first the German clerks would not pay attention to me. I became indignant and the little German I knew returned to me. Then they asked whether I was a Japanese or a Chinese. "Of course I am a Chinese." They were then very accomodating and polite. They said they would not wait on a Japanese for the simple reason that the Japanese had attacked them in the East while they were busy fighting in Europe. To say the least the Japanese were not sportmanlike.

While in Germany we went to Jena to visit the Zeiss Works and the famous Jena University. I found that the German students still sported around with duelling scars on their faces.. Not far away there was a prisoners' camp full of Russian and Chinese prisoners. As I had had charge of the Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. in France I deemed it my duty to visit the Chinese prisoners in that camp but they re-

fused to talk with me because they had thoroughly imbibed the Communist spirit and suspected me to be a man with evil intentions. The situation was already bad in 1920.

Glasgow Conference

I had occasion to go to Glasgow, Scotland, to attend another Christian Student Conference. Arriving at the railroad station shrouded by fog early in the morning I planned to go to a hotel to freshen up before I went anywhere. The Chinese student, Hsiung, who met me however insisted that I should proceed to the Dempsters' home directly, as that was the place I was going to stay. I did not know the Dempsters and naturally I could not agree with Mr. Hsiung, but at his insistence I gave in and met with a very hearty welcome from Mr. and Mrs. Dempster. A hot breakfast was waiting for me. Although several families in America treated me almost like a member of the family and I was assured of a hearty welcome, this was the first time that I met with a welcome from a family in Scotland that I did not know at all. I could not attribute such a hearty welcome to a total stranger except for the fact that they were a truly Christian family.

The weather in Scotland was rather cold at that time of year. In the evening, when I got into bed, my feet felt something very hard at the foot of the bed. I thought the maid had played a joke on me, a Chinese stranger. I discovered it was a hot water bottle placed there for my comfort. In Scotland they dod not have steam heat in every house as do American homes. On that Sunday the Rev. Mr. Dempster,

who was a pastor, invited me to speak to his Sunday congregation. I praised the Scotchmen for having performed so much good all over the world although theirs was a small country with a small population. I thanked them for sending Presbyterian and other missionaries to China. But I also pointed out that such fine work was in a way spoiled by their dispatching so much Scotch whisky to the ends of the world.

It was the custom of the delegates to gather together in the evenings in their dormitories, some sitting by the fireside and some in chairs, to discuss the speeches of the day and try to digest the thoughts. I was assigned to the Cambridge University group. I noticed that after all the discussions there was a young man who wound them up by giving his opinion. All paid close attention. Both his English and his opinions were excellent. Later I learned that he was the famous don of Cambridge, William Temple, who later became the Archbishop of Canterbury. I was indeed very fortunate in meeting the famous Mr. Temple and to listen to his beautiful English and expositions.

On The Way Home

With repatriation of the Labor Corps completed, my task in France also came to an end. It was time for me to prepare to return to China. At this time a cable came from the National Student Christian Association in China, urging me to remain in

France to organize a Chinese Student Christian Association in Europe. I was already close to forty years old. It was time for me to decide on my lifework. I had always thought of returning home to play my little part in China. So I declined the urging of the National Committee and made reservations to return home with my family on the S.S. Andre Le Bon. The voyage was a pleasant one, though there were a few rough days in the Indian Ocean when both my wife and I were more or less seasick. The day was so hot when the steamer called at Djibuti in Africa that my little boy in his haste to drink inadvertently broke the glass.

In both Port Said and Djibuti I witnessed the very unequal treatment of the natives by imperialism. The French colonial power selected high and beautiful spots on which they erected cool and comfortable buildings to live, whereas they allowed the natives to live only in miserable low huts full of vermin. No wonder the natives attacked the imperialists when they gained their independence. This is not to excuse the natives for their wanton acts, but to point out that they had cause. When the ship stopped at Hong Kong we Chinese for the first and only time did not have to have passports in order to land, whereas all foreigners had to show their passports to the port authorities. Hong Kong is a British colony but in many ways is governed like a part of China. The steamer finally arrived at Shanghai, her final destination. Our work with the Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. in France had come to an end.

HARBIN - NORTH MANCHURIA

A mother's love is a wonderful thing. Mother always found it hard to travel. She was trainsick, seasick, car-sick, etc. Any moving made her sick. Yet her love to see her children as soon as she could, induced her to travel by train for a thousand miles from Peking to Shanghai in order to be on the spot to welcome us back from France. She was sick all the way. But that made no difference. So when we reached Peter Ch'uans's home in Shanghai, we had the great pleasure of seeing our mother welcome us with open arms. I did not tell her that I was rich nor that I had accomplished much, but I was proud of what I had done. I had left home twelve years before with a small broken iron trunk and only one suitcase, and now I had returned with twenty pieces of baggage, a wife and a fine son. Mother of course was enraptured with joy to see us all, particularly the new wife of her third son, and the grandson. Together we returned to Peking by train. Mother as usual was sick all the way. She was happy to return home with her three sons, one daughter-in-law and a grandson. I must not forget to mention that my older brother, Dr. John, had been with us all the way from France. He had attended the World's Army (?) Convention held in Brussels, Belgium, appointed by the Chinese Ministry of Defense.

When the commotion of family cleared away, matters began to settle down for some serious thought about my life work. It was a hard thing to do. Nevertheless I decided to remain in Peking for

two years. I sorely needed that much time to get Chinafied again before I would be able to set forth to tackle anything. However a telephone call one day soon came from the Ministry of Communications asking me to go to the office of Councillor Wang, a fellow Yale man, who requested me to go to Harbin with him as his chief English Secretary. He expected to be appointed the Director General of the Chinese Eastern Railway. I was fully determined to decline the offer, although it was a very warm one. But my elder brother advised me to accept it for the simple reason that so many returned students had been requesting the assistance of Councillor Wang but had received nothing. I had just returned from abroad and such a fat offer had come to me. If I declined it, I would at once get the reputation of being very swell-headed in considering such an offer too small to accept. It would be very difficult for me to get another attractive offer when I believed myself fully qualified to work in China. I had to give up my original decision and accept the offer to go to Harbin, which had the name of being the Paris of the East. While it had little of the glamour of Paris, located as it is in the desert-like northern part of North Manchuria, it did present a little bit of glamour to slake the thirst of those who longed for Gay Paree.

Harbin was known throughout the world because it was the center of the Chinese Eastern Railway System. This was best known for its international aspect. In name it was a joint enterprise of China and Russia. In fact, due to Russia's aggressive attitude

and efforts in the Far East, and due also to China's weakness, from its inception it gradually fell into Russian hands. Matters became so onesided that previous to our arrival on the scene, no Chinese, except servants, were allowed to enter the railway's administration building. In the official agreement about the railway, there was a Railway Company which was the legislative body over and above the railway administration. So when our delegation arrived in Harbin, Dr. Wang assumed the chair of the presidency of the railway in accordance with this agreement.

The Russian officials who were used to running the railway themselves did not like it, but could not prevent it. Dr. Wang, the new president of the Railway and the Director-General of the Chinese Government Railway Office, aimed at taking China's rightful position on the railway but no more. The Russian officers protested on the ground that Cinese officers knew nothing of railway administration. So Dr. Wang asked that assistant Chinese officials be installed to learn the business of each railway department. To this the Russians could not object as the formal agreement so provided. Besides, the railway was a joint enterprise with both parties on equal footing. The Director General filled those learning posts with men already widely experienced in other railways. It was but a matter of a short time before they had mastered the Chinese Eastern Railway System.

The only obstacle in the way was the language. The Russians had been running the railway alone for such a long time that only

the Russian language was used on the railway. So in addition to learning how to run the railway, these new Chinese officers were ordered to study Russian. It was a difficult road to travel, and the Russians placed many other obstacles in the way, but the Chinese officers, by dint of learning, patience, firmness, and reasonableness, were succeeding rapidly in taking what rightfully belonged to China until the time of the Soviet Russian Revolution. After their success in the Revolution they proclaimed that whatever rights the Czarist regime had taken from other nations were abrogated and should be returned once and for all to the nations concerned. That was a big sounding declaration, but the Russians never carried it out.

In fact, when the Japanese occupied the whole of Manchuria, the Soviet Russians sold their interest in the railway to the Japanese. They were never for international justice or protectors of international rights and privileges. They were only opportunists. They had only in mind the interests of Soviet Russia. They did not intend to defend the small and the weak. They only desired to see that those nations are dominated by them wholly for the interest of Soviet Russia and the Communist Party.

The Russians never provided educational facilities for the large number of Chinese workers on the railway. There was an Educational Department in the Chinese Eastern Railway Administration, but no Chinese officers. The Chinese President directed that an assistant Chinese Chief be appointed whose responsibility should be to organize schools and colleges for the Chinese members and their child-

ren in the Railway. Besides my post as chief English Secretary, I was also appointed to be the Assistant Chinese Chief of the Educational Department. Before I resigned to take up my new job at the Tsinghua College in Peking, after various struggles with the General Manager of the Railway, who was a Russian, and other Russian officials, I succeeded in establishing 35 schools of different grades, including a kindergarten, and helped to strengthen one technical institution of college standard already established. Together with a Chinese president who was leaving for a post abroad, I was allowed to respond to the telegraphic invitation to join the faculty of Tsinghua.

The Director General of the Railway went to Mukden to confer with General Chang Tso-lin, the War Lord of Manchuria, on how to deal with the Russians in matters concerning the proper control of the Chinese Eastern Railway in particular and the Manchurian territory in general. Chang Tso-lin, being only an ignorant military man, was bent on using force to drive out the Russians, while the Director general, being a well educated man in affairs both Chinese and foreign, believed that China ought to deal with the Russians in proper diplomatic ways.

One evening while we were in Mukden, Young Chang, son of the War Lord, came and strongly urged the Director General to return to Peking so as to avoid a direct conflict with his father. The latter, a strictly military man who was really only a reformed chief bandit, might do things injurious to the Director General,

who,being the representative of the Central Government in Peking, should not be required to meet with such an insult. The Director-General therefore left Mukden and proceeded to Great Britain to assume a new post as Director of Students under the British Boxer Indemnity Fund, which the British had also returned to China, with the understanding that the Chinese government was to use it to assist successful candidates in an annual examination in further education in the British Isles. In the meantime he dispatched a wire to me allowing me freedom of action. So I gave up my posts in Harbin and returned to Peking to join the faculty of Tsinghua College.

During the conferences described above, still another Conference was going on in Mukden. The Sino-Russian negotiations, having failed to secure the final approval of the National Cabinet, were transferred to Mukden secretly. Karakhan, the Russian ambassador, sent Borodin as the chief Russian spokesman. He said definitely that Russia was negotiating only at Mukden with Mukden, and that nothing else of the sort was going on anywhere else. The truth was that Karahan was also quietly negotiating with Dr. Wellington Koo in Peking. The Russians were playing a double game to see where they could secure the best terms.

The final text of the Sino-Russian Agreement was to be in English. Mukden being short of personnel well versed in English, wired the Director General for assistance by sending one of his men to Mukden to draft the English version of the Agreement. Dr. Ho and I were sent. After our arrival we found the bones of contention here were the words "value" and "cost". While the Mukden side insisted on

"value"; the actual English term used was "cost", which the Russian delegate wanted. But Borodin pretended to yield to the Mukden insistence and the Mukden side was happy because they thought they had won a big victory. Borodin just laughed in his sleeve. So when we protested and insisted that the word "cost" should be changed to "value", Brordin pretended to side with the Chinese Diplomatic Commissioner, whose secretary drafted the English version. He, in order to protect his own man, insisted that there was a difference between the two words. He was a Harvard Master of Arts, though poor in English, and I was a Yale man. So this was in a way also Yale-Harvard rivalry on behalf of China!

The chief Chinese delegate, believing we were right and also wishing to save the prestige of the Commissioner, arranged a dinner party to smooth things over with the Commissioner. When the dinner was about to begin the War Lord rushed in and said very indignantly: "You people don't have to go any further! They have signed the Sino-Russian Agreement in Peking! Borodin, the rascal, told me at the outset that they would negotiate with me alone. They signed the Agreement in Peking but we will wait and see who will carry out the terms for them." As the terms concerned chiefly matters in Manchuria, no one would be able to carry out the terms without a definite understanding with the War Lord of Manchuria. Later events proved the truth of his words. It took many days and many concessions to him before he was willing to carry out the terms. In the meantime Borodin quietly slipped away to Peking by the night train.

Such was an incident showing how well the Soviet Russians doublecrossed in the political game in China.

Tsinghua - Yenching

Tsinghua College was founded with the unneeded portion of the 1900 Boxer Indemnity Fund returned to China by the United States. According to the agreement, graduates were to go to the United States for further education in different institutions of higher learning. By the time I joined the institution, Tsinghua College men who had returned from the United States were in various forms of service in China. Dr. Y.S. Tsao (another Yale man) was President of the College when I became a faculty member. The students were wont to have their own way when they decided to do something. Pres. Tsao was afraid if this went on without proper guidance and planned procedure, the students would find it very hard to take up successfully their life work. I was therefore asked to head up the office of Moral Guidance.

After half a year of work in that office I came to the conclusion that it was not the right method to guide students in planning and doing things in proper ways. To my view the proper way to guide students is through their activities. The office was therefore changed to "The Director of Extracurricular Activities." At first the students didn't welcome such control. However I was there not to control but to lead and guide. The students considered it to be control, and I therefore came to be re-

garded as an opponent of whatever they wished to do. It took some time for them to understand my capacity to lead and guide. In fact, a student leader came to my office demanding that he be given so many rooms with so many tables and chairs, as he and several fellows had decided the night before to issue a paper, which in reality, required only one desk and a few chairs. He was informed that he and his fellows must first present a plan. He would see what was really needed after mutual discussion. The angry attitude of the leader showed that he did not at all understand my good advice but thought I was there to oppose them and their effort.

When I was a student at Yale my professor of psychology lectured to us saying, "It is very important to induce your adversary to be seated before you go on with your discussion. If you succeed in doing so, half the battle is won already." I recalled that advice and asked the student to be seated. He stoutly resisted at first but eventually he yielded. He then became quite reasonable and we became good friends, for he fully understood that I was in that office to assist them in whatever they proposed to do. I told him that when he worked in the outside world, no one would listen to him if he came without a definite plan and some details. A demand would not get him anywhere. The earlier he and his fellow students learned how to plan to do things, the better for their future life work.

Hardly had I become better acquainted with the student leaders than a movement was started to oust several officers of the Administration whom they believed to be the leaders in making things so

difficult in forcing the resignation of the Dean. The President in fact was also in this group of officers but the students did not include him for the simple reason that to drive him off would give the Peking National University people a chance to get hold of Tsinghua. When the Dean's difficulty first began I was asked to mediate. The situation was steadied by a reconciliation of the two camps. The Pfesident's inquiry about the Dean's resignation a few months later started the trouble anew. The Student Association was given the report by some unknown person. The strong leaders of the group opposing the Dean were driven off the campus by the students' appointed representatives. Although I was not opposed by the students, my office was. The President therefore abolished my office and at the same time promoted me to be the Chief Secretary of the College. But the chief secretaryship was the bone of contention. Under the circumstances I could not accept, and had to resign.

A few months later a professor and an old friend came from Yenching University, and representing the University offered me the post of Controller. A telegram was at the same time received from Swatow University inviting me to be the Chief Secretary of that institution. An offer also came from the office of Diplomatic Affairs of Shanghai. I chose the job of Controller of Yenching because it was my Alma Mater (as a graduate of one of the three institutions that were merged to form Yenching) and I owed it the loyalty of an alumnus to help her when she needed me. Furthermore, I did not know the dialect and living conditions of the Swatow region in southern Fukien. The post in Shanghai was political in character and I never aspired to any political appointment.

My first job was to take over from the director of construction all

the University buildings that could be used. Then I helped in moving the entire University from its old site inside of the city of Peking to its new campus about ten miles outside of the city. The new campus occupied the old garden of a high official who had lived during the Ming Dynasty, about three hundred and fifty years ago. When the Ch'ing (Manchu) Dynasty was established, the garden was confiscated and given by the Court to one of its princes. Yenching had recently purchased it and after much renovation turned it into a very beautiful campus. Some say it is the most beautiful campus in the world.

In name I was the Controller, but because the President had to be in the United States much of the time to raise funds for its unfinished buildings and general support, I had to run most of the affairs of the University. I had no trouble with the students. But once a teacher, to avoid his own difficulties, tried to shift the responsibility on to my office. One of the professors in his department, being anxious to get into an official career, went to Nanking to work in a government office, ostensibly on a month's leave of avsence from the University. But he stayed on in his official position and did not return long after his leave had ended. The teacher in question desiring to retain a professor's good standing, did not make a report to the University authorities. The professor's wife in the meantime accused me of wanting to take her house (owned by the University) as a measure of vengeance against her, in fear lest she should report to the University authorities the case of my rejecting her recommendation of a coal dealer who wanted to sell coal to the University. As a matter of fact, I had nothing to do with buying the coal used by the University, that responsibility belonging to the

independent construction bureau.

The University was hard pressed by lack of sufficient faculty residences. So I wrote to the chairman of the responsible committee to inquire whether the professor intended to return in the fall. If not, the residence should be assigned to another new professor. Afraid to arouse the ire of the wife, the chairman relayed my inquiry to her, saying I wanted to take back the residence. This naturally created a commotion against me among the professor's friends who did not know the true facts. I gave the President three days to have the affair properly understood and the responsibility placed on the proper shoulders. The affair was quickly cleared up and it was found that the professor did not intend to return. The wife's charge was groundless. The whole thing was caused by the chairman's refusal to bear the responsibility for the professor's long over-extended leave which he had not reported to the University as he should have done. After three days I returned to the University. The chairman came to my office trying to quibble over the entire affair, but I paid no attention.

A very bad affair created by several unruly students against the Dean of Women students was probably the hardest matter I had to handle during my administration. A group of students, for political reasons, wanted to drive away the American authorities of the University. They were wise not to touch the President (Dr. Leighton Stuart) because they knew that if he left the support of the University would cease and it would have to be closed. They then would be short of an effective place such as Yenching from which they could work under the cloak of opposing imperialism. So they concentrated their attack on the Dean

of the Women's College.

There was a girl student who had serious mental trouble. Unable to cure it at the University, the Dean finally decided to send her home after securing the permission of her family in Shanghai. While seeing her to the railway station - a teacher accompanying her - she managed to elude all the crowd and ran out of the station. The Dean got her back. The trouble-making students twisted the facts to suit their purpose. The publicity accused the Dean of treating the girl cruelly and chaining her in the dormitory without communication with the outside. In the meantime the Dean tried to keep the case known only to a few of the University authorities, as too much publicity would be injurious to the future of the girl herself. The Dean quietly proceeded to deal with the case through proper channels. The leader of the student group, however, spread false propaganda against the Dean. They announced that they would drive the Dean away by invading her residence, knowing well in advance that she was going on her vacation that very afternoon. However, to take precautions for the safety of the Dean, I dispatched several servants to the Dean's residence, ostensibly to mow the lawn but in reality to see that the students should not do too much mischief. The Dean went on her vacation and the students took a casual look in the parlor of the Dean's residence knowing that no one was at home. The case gradually fizzled out largely due to the Dean's endurance and patience. But at heart she suffered a good deal. I was happy that the affair did not bring any direct injury to the Dean or a bad reputation to the University.

I had promised to serve Yenching for only one year. Due to the President having to be absent part of each year for the reasons I have mentioned

I had to remain at my post until the spring of 1931, when I insisted that I must be allowed to leave in search of another position. The principal reason for my leaving was that my children were growing rapidly. The monthly salary I received from the University would soon be insufficient to meet all my increasing and legitimate needs, although I was already receiving the highest pay that the University was giving. At the time of my leaving I had no idea as to what I could do in the immediate future.

The Kincheng Banking Corporation

While waiting for someone to take my place at Yenching, I received a telephone call from the General Manager of the Kincheng Banking Corporation asking for an appointment. We finally met at the Tsing Hua Club in Peking. The Manager, Mr. Chou, spoke for about an hour on the reasons why he wanted me to accept a call to join his bank. I told him that it would be a joke to my friends and myself if I should become a banker, as I had never studied banking, nor had I any experience or connections. After repeated explanations from mutual friends who advised me to accept the invitation because Mr. Chou desired me to help him in the general administration, not in the usual routine banking affairs, I complied with their request. But the main reason was that banking alone, of all professions in those times, offered reliable monthly income. In other professions, particularly all government positions, they were never sure whether or not they would be able to give their officials and workers the next month's

pay. With my growing children I could not afford to go into a new career whose pay was unreliable. So I entered the banking career in which I was to end my working days and which provided me reliable monthly income as well as new and varied experiences.

The first strange way of doing things by the General Manager that I noticed, was that when the first pay day arrived, he instructed the business manager to pay me a portion of salary in the form of subsidy, and said that he would pay me the remainder directly himself in the form of salary. Innocently I asked for the reason. He said, "I have invited you as a modern to join the bank at a rather high salary, higher in fact than what I pay the manager of a branch of this bank. If this were known it would greatly displease the entire staff. So I instructed the business manager to pay you a sum in the form of subsidy which is smaller than what the managers receive as their monthly salary. As to what I personally pay you, they do not know." I did not smoke or drink and had no general evil practices. My regular social expenses were paid by the Bank. So my monthly expenses were by no means excessive. What the business manager paid me as subsidy was sufficient to meet my needs. I declined to remind the General Manager month by month of my monthly salary that I was to get from him privately. He therefore paid me a lump sum at the Chinese New Year, which was very inconvenient, to say the least.

For my preliminary work in the Bank, the General Manager requested me to undertake a thorough study of the workings of the whole bank, starting with the branch in Peking. It was very difficult to

get the material from the Peking Branch which was reluctant to have me, whom they considered an outsider, look into their records. I at first had to win their goodwill and trust by being very humble and agreeable. Gradually I obtained what I needed for my study. I had to spend several months in studying the situation before I was able to submit my report. In it I stressed twenty points for needed improvement. I placed savings as the last. To my surprise when the report was handed to the General Manager, he glanced it over and told me to work on the last article, which I considered the least urgent, and leave the rest alone. It turned out that he cared only about how to increase the deposits, which did not have much to do with the reformation of the Bank. He really did not have its reformation in mind. What he wanted to know was how to get more deposits in the bank, which he could use at will. I was a greenhorn and did not know the devious ways in which he went about his business.

The next job he assigned me was the construction of the East City Sub-Branch in Peking, and its organization. He wanted the sub-branch to be directly responsible to him, although in name it was responsible to the Peking Branch. A tiny lot at the corner of the avenues could not be secured by me. The assistant manager of the Peking Branch offered to negotiate for it and claimed that he knew the owner well. When I was told that the assistant manager wanted the chance in order to make some extra money through the deal, I could do nothing but acquiesce. The deal came to nothing and the building for the East City Sub-branch was constructed without the corner lot. Everything in connection with the construction was done with the definite approval of the mayor's office.

The fact that the General Manager wished to have the East City Sub-branch under his own wing, without direct orders from the Peking Branch, created many difficulties for the Manager of the East City Sub-branch. The Peking Branch mistakenly understood it to be a case of insubordination on the part of the manager of the East City Sub-branch, who though a modern man, was fully acquainted with the inner workings of a Chinese bank. We often had to work with the General Manager and report to the manager of the Peking Branch. Even then he was subject to a lot of criticism.

One totally unexpected difficulty came from an entirely different angle. The Director of the Public Works Department called at the bank with an order from the Garrison Commander that the East City Sub-branch building was too high and must be lowered by two storeys. The building, planned with the full approval of the Mayor's office, was to have been four and a half storeys high. Such a height was really negligible, but the Garrison Commander considered it too high. He, being an ignorant person, was nevertheless very insistent and proud of his authority.

The bank stood firmly on its rights, for it had fully complied with government regulations. I was told later that the real objection was not the height of the building but that it had obstructed the view of an advertisement whose owner happened to be a good card-playing friend of the Garrison Commander. He complained to the Garrison Commander and the latter promised that things would be done so that the advertisement would show up again. It must also be said that the advertisement in question was not a legitimate one.

The Public Works Director literally begged the bank to do something with which he could hoodwink the Commander. Finally the bank agreed to shave off the top half storey. With that the Director informed the Mayor who in turn informed the Commander that the bank, in spite of having done everything according to the regulation,now agreed to carry out the Commander's orders. The Commander, unable to make head or tail of the blue print, believed the statement of the Mayor and the trouble died down, and the bank maintained its East City branch with four regular stories. Far down on the same street was another building in construction. This was under contract with an Italian contractor. The Commander made no objection to its height which was more than five stories. He was afraid to stand up against foreign imperialism

. By 1939 the Nation was having much difficulty with the Japanese. The 1900 treaty provided that the railway between Shanhaikwan and Peking should be protected a year at a time by troops of the nations who had suppressed the Boxer Movement. In 1937 it was Japan's turn. They took advantage of that provision to amass a large number of soldiers in Tientsin. As part of their military designs they planned to take Peking. So they notified the Chinese Government that the treaty allowed them to stage maneuvers west of the city. There was no such provision, and the Chinese Government refused to allow such a military demonstration west of the seat of their National Government. Nevertheless the Japanese dispatched a small number of military men who deliberately tried to climb the city wall of Wanping, a small metropolitan district west of the city. The Chinese soldiers guarding it fired at

the Japanese soldiers who tried to climb the wall by night. Making the excuse that the Chinese troops had wantonly attacked the peaceful Japanese troops, the Japanese dispatched an expeditionary force to Peking, which was totally unprepared. The city was captured after a desultory fight outside the west city wall. Thus the Nation's capital fell into Japanese hands while practically all were asleep. When the people opened their eyes they found themselves in the hands of a strange foe.

My sister-in-law was recuperating outside the city. When my car reached the closed gates I was told by the Chinese police that permission must first be secured from the Japanese authorities before the gate could be opened. My head suddenly began to swim and then I fully realized that I was under Japanese rule. History has seldom told a story of a national capital falling so easily into an enemy's hands. The Chinese authorities were not free from blame. With a foreign foe threatening from so near, the Garrison Commander failed to realize the danger and take the necessary precautionary measures. While the Japanese were marching to the west of the city, he was still going to the south to watch his own troops participating in military maneuvers. It was only when the vanguards reported that they saw Japanese tanks cutting the highway westward that he began to wake up to the seriousness of the situation, but that was too late. That very night he and his troops withdrew quietly southwest of Peking one hundred miles to the City of Paoting, the capital of Hopei Province in which Peking is located. He almost handed over Peking on a silver platter to the Japanese!

Owing to their political affiliations, Chinese officials had to desert their posts in Peking and hand over the welfare, international, and volunteer positions to someone. Many of these posts fell into my hands as one free from politics. For instance, I was chairman of the Board of Directors of the International Fine Arts Institute, member of the Board of Directors of the Peking Y.M.C.A., etc. All of the extra positions I held were volunteer and welfare in nature. Tho politically speaking they were harmless, the Japanese feared that in time of troubles, I could take advantage of my volunteer positions in marshalling together enough strength to do them a lot of mischief. They therefore watched me carefully. One day early in the morning before I was up, they came to my bedroom and asked me to dress and go to their Gendarmerie Headquarters. This sudden development created quite a stir, especially among the bank's staff. Probably due to my frank and honest enumeration through a Chinese interpreter of what I had been doing, I was finally allowed to go free. However, the Japanese Gendarmes appointed a special agent to keep an eye on me, who often came to the house to look things over, pretending that he was a friend.

After I was transferred to Shanghai, one day this man suddenly appeared in my office. He said that he just wanted to see me before he proceeded to Chungking. He was originally from Antung in Manchuria. Captured by the Japanese, they made him a Gendarmerie agent. His heart was with the Chinese all the time. Through my influence in Peking he began to realize that he should return to the service of his own people. Somehow he managed to elude the Japanese Gendarmes in Peking. He was going to leave by ship that very evening for Chung-

king vis Indo-China, where he would be entirely out of the clutches of the Japanese. I have never heard from him since and therefore cannot vouch for the truth of his words.

A report of my difficulty with the Japanese Gendarmes in Peking reached our General Manager in Shanghai. So one day I received a telegram from him saying, "Urgent matter to consult you. Immediately proceed to Shanghai." Although the telegram was mystifying to me at the time, I left for Shanghai on the strength of it. I was in Shanghai until I retired from the bank in 1951.

Shanghai was by that time "liberated" by the Communists, but they had not yet had time to get full hold of their new war booty to any extent. Among the professions, the commerical banks were still able to operate as usual. I came to understand banking operations better in Shanghai. Many of the operations I did not like. Shanghai was the financial center of the nation and banks had a lot to do in the running of the National Government by maneuvering its financial affairs. If the leading banks declined to give assistance to the Government, no one desired to take the post of the Minister of Finance. In the daily financial markets the bankers held sway over operations.

The financial affairs of the country were in a bad fix. Currency deteriorated daily, yes, almost hourly. The situation was so bad that one day my wife asked me to bring a few silver dollars home in the afternoon, otherwise there would be no supper, as the men in the market were refusing the banknotes. They would only agree to part with their wares if the patron could pay in silver dollars. I never played the market, so did not know how and where to get silver dollars. The bank's servant told me that I could easily procure a few silver

dollars in the room outside, where the silver speculators peddled their wares in the early afternoon. Behold, I did get hold of a few silver dollars by going out of my office. The speculators came right into the bank to speculate. The situation was bad as that. In fact, before eleven o'clock in the morning it was very rare to find the clerks working in the banks. They all went out to try to make a few more dollars by playing the market and would not return to their responsibilities until late in the morning. The banks could do nothing to prevent this. They also found it impossible to keep up with the rapid deterioration of the currency. The worst thing about it was that the high officers of the banks all had rooms in the hotels where they transacted (proper) banking business. There over the Ma Jong tables they might agree to give loans when luck favored them. And the loan seekers always saw that the fortune of the game tables always favored the bankers. It was also in such places that they and their friends participated in all sorts of wild parties.

The Communists have organized a people's bank to run the Government finance, another bank to take care of foreign exchange, another bank to have charge of financing communications and transportaion, still a fourth bank to take charge of industries. But it seems that all these banks are under one bank, the People's Bank. This is a bank to control the Nation's finances, leaving the individual no freedom in managing his own finances. It is not the right thing. It seems to me there ought to be a system of banking in which there will be free circulation of the nation's finances under the State's protection and guarantee, leaving enough individual freedom, getting away

from any illegal manaeuvering and speculation.

How about the protection of the deposits in the bank? A manager of the bank should never participate in gambling of any kind. He said: "I never play cards of any kind; neither have I engaged in any gambling. All know how much I earn a month. Where could I get the hundred or thousand dollars to pay for my gambling debts except from the bank's deposits? A banker's gambling debts often far exceed his monthly salary! It is this practice of not differentiating between private and public funds that is at the root of all evil in the banking profession. Through my twenty years working in the banking world, I can speak with confidence.

In preparation for my father's funeral, I had the unselfish and friendly help of a group of family friends. The business manager with two of the top servants of the bank came to offer their assistance. I was surprised at this unusual offer as I considered their primary duty was to the bank. So I declined, much to their disgust and displeasure. A year later I learned that during the months when the funeral of the banker's mother was being observed, many of the bank's high officials and servants were at his home to help in many capacities. Quite a few patrons had to leave the bank with their business unattended to because those responsible were not there. The assistant manager was not at all popular in the bank while he was living, but at his death was given a great and elaborate funeral procession at the Bank's expense. The former manager of the foreign exchange department of a bank told me that several branch bank managers owed his department several

thousand U.S. dollars and when he approached them to pay up their debts, he was told to mind his own business. The manager of a branch of the bank frequently threatened to resign in protest against some measures which he did not approve. The General Manager never dared to carry out such measures because he was afraid that the branch manager might reveal his own irregularities in that branch when that branch was under his direct administration.

Suffice it to point out just a few of the cases which, however, are enough to prove my point. The greatest evil in a bank is that it's authorities consider the bank largely a private enterprise whose funds and personnel are ever in their power. They can do anything at will. It is all private in character. There is no difference between private and public. When they reach that position of power, it is all private with them! To clear up the banking enterprise, the first thing to do is differentiate between what is private and what is public. The two should not be confused under any circumstances. Public funds can only be used for public obligation.

Nanking - Capital

I maintained that it was a very serious mistake to change the National Capital from Peking to Nanking. For personal safety and convenience there might have been much to say for it, but for the interests of the Nation, it should have remained Peking. Had the National Capital remained in Peking, Young Chang Hsueh-liang would

naturally have had to behave and reside in Mukden, instead of moving down to Peking to reside in a former Prince's Palace and to have a good time with his stooges, thus leaving Manchuria wide open and unguarded for the Japanese who planned to invade Manchuria, and later on, China proper. Furthermore, the high officials would have had to remain in Peking, far away from participating in business transactions in Shanghai where they could easily go on weekends. In a word, the map of international and national reconstruction would have been quite different from what it is today. Moving the National Capital to Nanking led to international developments which otherwise would not have occurred..

Those who believe in fate would probably say that life is foreordained and that no human efforts of any kind can make it different. Communism was bound to develop whether the National Capital was in Peking or in Nanking. Nevertheless, I still hold the belief that world events might not have happened as they did or not so soon, if the National Capital had remained in Peking, and China might not have been "liberated" by the Communists. The Communists prospered in North China and enveloped the whole country from the north. Had the National Capital remained in Peking, there might be a different story to tell today. It would have greatly strengthened the position of the Government in North China. The politicians might have been compelled to behave themselves better and devote more attention to national affairs instead of to private interests. This might have prevented the growth and expansion of the Communist power.

A Banker's Life

Leading bankers lived in spacious and luxuriously decorated residences. They went to offices in big and expensive limousines. They always dined expensively. Our General Manager said one day to me that it is true the people see us in that luxurious and expensive light, but they do not know the nights we lie awake with wide open eyes, troubled by the changing national events, worrying as to what is going to happen to the bank. In China during the past thirty years before "liberation", the different War lords repeatedly rebelled against the National Government. In each of the rebellions the War lords concerned needed millions of dollars which they withdrew from the bank or banks in which they had temporarily deposited their ill-gotten gains. Those who were in the banking business knew that no single bank could stand the sudden drain of the withdrawal of millions of dollars.

The leading bankers in the country must know how the political winds will blow. How much money might leave a branch or branches and at about what time. Since they cannot prevent the withdrawal, they must be ever ready to meet the demands. Indeed, they have cause to worry and to lie awake for days and nights, lest some sudden trouble develop. When there is no trouble, a leading banker's life is easy and comfortable. But China has been constantly bothered with War lord trouble time after time during the last thirty or forty years. The life of the leading bankers in China has indeed therefore not been a bed of roses.

A banker may be a very stern dictator at the office, but at home he may be a henpecked husband. One of the former prime ministers was

nationally known as a very strong-minded and stern person. At home however, he was mild and under the authority of his better half. Indeed he was so henpecked that his friends named him the President of the Henpecked Husbands' Society. As a vice-president, the General Manager of our bank was given the honor.

One evening the General Manager gave a party to high officials who were visiting Peking at that time. After dinner one of the guests jokingly remarked it was time for them to leave for if they stayed later, the hostess of the household might turn off the lights as she did some years ago. To show that he was not so weak-kneed, the General Manager was ready to go anywhere with them. They suggested that they all visit the Eight Big Lanes, the most popular place of pleasure. The General Manager was wide awake enough to say to the guests: "Mr. Chu'an may go home; he does not go to such a place." The next morning the General Manager remarked to me that he was sure I was a well behaved man for my chauffeur (they borrowed my car) did not know where the Eight Big Lanes was.

A Folly

The zeal to have a nice house in fovorable comparison with the other bankers led me to purchase a fine old house and have it thoroughly renovated. The renovated house, as fine as one could find at that time in the year 1934 anywhere in Peking, was however, far beyond my means. I was also anxious to have a nice house for my aged father, Mother having passed away two years earlier. As I was on the

bank's staff, it was not hard to secure a mortgage from the bank for the money needed. When the anti-Japan war came along the currency began to depreciate rapidly and I found myself heavily burdened with the interest on my mortgage loan from the bank. Having established my home in Shanghai, the house in Peking was no longer needed. It was too large for any of the children; besides they could not afford to live in such a large house. So I asked the bank to dispose of the house for me, and with the proceeds,to pay off the mortgage. Whatever was left was to help in family expenses. A startling experience occurred when I went to Peking to settle my obligations to the bank. The accountant said to me that it would be perfectly all right if I just paid the principal and let the total interest go. He further said no one paid loans during war time. I had broken up my Peking home in order to pay off my obligations to the bank. So it would be quite enough for me, a member of the bank staff, to pay the principal and the bank would be very grateful. I replied, "The General Manager invited me because I was a Christian. As a Christian, I must pay the whole sum due to the bank. I must pay both the principal and the amount of the interest to this very day." So I paid. But in the bank and among the employees many said I was an obstinate and foolish person because I did not accept the accountant's advice. In 1951 I was glad that I did so, because when the Communists came into power in 1951, they insisted that everyone must pay to the banks whatever they owed to them.

Why I Do Not Speculate

Speculation is almost a necessary part of banking activities, both for the banks and personally. One very seldom finds a bank or a banker who does not speculate. A banker's expenses far exceed his regular salary from the bank. If he does not speculate, he has no way to meet his expenses, unless he uses the money of the depositors illegally. I have seen bankers speculate with bank's money. If a banker wins, the gains will be divided between the bank and himself. If he loses, the bank will meet the loss. I have never been in a position to speculate with the bank's money, so I cannot say whether I would speculate if I were in such a position. I do not drink, gamble, or smoke. My expenses were low and I did not need to find money beyond what I received from the bank in the form of salary. In a word, I was a regular salary worker in the bank.

The main reason why I had not gone into speculation was that I did not choose to live the life of a speculator. A speculator is the slave of money. When he wins, his face is full of grins and he leads a wild life of parties staged by himself and participated in by those who make it their job to follow the winners. In addition he wants to protect his unused gains by investments in various fields, so as to avoid the danger of putting his eggs in one basket only. Early in the morning the first thing he does is to grab the telephone to enquire the price fluctuations of his investments. If the prices rise and favor him, he is jolly and happy. If the prices slump, he main-

tains all day long a facial expression of discouragement and great unhappiness. Such a frame of mind is reflected in all that he does and says. He is a man of unpleasant moods, and can hardly be normally approached. He leads a life of a crazy man. Sometimes he is up, and somethimes he is down. I wish to live as a normal person with a regular and even life. Therefore I never speculated and do not owe any bank nor any person any money. Freedom from debt means freedom for life. That was why I was able to go through the "Three Downs and Five Downs Movement", free of any difficulties, and am a free man today. God has been good to me in that I have been able to live long and have a family whose members are all working, well and happy. What more does a man want!

Forces That Paved The Way For Communism

It is now quite clear that the Communists found a fertile field for their activities in Manchuria. The Soviet Russians kept a large and strong army just outside of Manchuria to be prepared to jump on the Japanese Kwantung Army at the opportune time. The time came when the Japanese decided to surrender and ordered all the armies to cease fighting. The Kwantung Army, once the strongest of all the Japanese armies, was reduced to impotence. The Soviet Russians just walked into Manchuria down to the very southern tip of that wide territory, rich in mineral resources, partly exploited by the Japanese South Manchurian Railway.

Although their expedition was a walkover, the booty they got was enormous. The best they kept for their own use, and that which they did not want they turned over to their comrades, the Chinese Communists. The Chinese Communist General Lin Piao received such booty from the Russians. Together with some Manchurian troops, well trained and equipped by the Japanese for their own use, the Chinese Communists were ready to march southward to conquer China proper.

Just at this juncture, President Truman dispatched General Marshall to China in the hope that the latter could work out some reconciliation between President Chiang and the Chinese Communists. Marshall failed in his mission. But the Chinese Communists benefitted by Marshall's efforts. It gave the Chinese Communists much needed time to reallocate the Manchurian and other well-trained and equipped armies.

When Marshall returned to the United States, the Chinese Communists were ready to march and to conquer the rest of China. With the demoralization of the Chinese Government fighting forces, the Communists' success inside of China was very rapid and soon complete. Their success depended largely on the Chinese Manchurian troops, together with the booty from the Japanese Kwantung Army, coupled with the demoralization of the Chinese Government forces. A few months later I was in Canton. The streets in Canton were still guarded by Mukden soldiers and Cantonese policemen. The Cantonese policemen helped to interpret the orders of the Mukden soldiers. Thus the main part of China was captured by the Communists and a new chapter of China's history began.

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The Actual Capture Of Shanghai Was Easy

After fighting that lasted about three days along the bank of the Soo River, the Government troops were defeated and rapidly retreated toward Kiang-wan. Those who were able to board a steamer somehow were transported to Formosa and are getting ready to retake the old China. When that will be, no one knows. Chiang-Kai-shek every year makes a big noise about retaking Continental China, but many doubt that he will have the ability to do so. Many entertain the idea that without American aid he will find it hard to hold on to Formosa. Giving aid to Formosa is but a means to an end as far as the United States is concerned. Some believe that after the surrender of Japan, the United States has really become a Pacific Power. With Japan reduced almost to impotency as a military force in the Pacific, the United States has to contend with Red China which has been growing rapidly as a Pacific Power and a menace to American ambition in the Far East. Red China, believing herself to be the legitmate mistress of both land and sea in Asia will not stand any nonsense on the part of the Americans. What the United States wants in the Far East and what Red China is willing to give in exchange remains to be seen. Some believe that once the two are able to come to diplomatic reconciliation, Formosa will automatically be returned to Red China without any fighting. We shall see how the diplomatic game will be played on the stage of international politics. Many view the periodic shelling of Quemoy as only a weak gesture on the part of Red China, intended to give the world the impression that she means to take Formosa when she is ready.

The Chinese Communists

The Chinese Communists derived their power from the fact that they were under one man's direction. He defeated all opposition and became the undisputed leader of the Communists at the Conference in Tsun-yi, Kwei-chou Province, when they were on their long trail to take root eventually at Yenan in Shensi Province. Mao Tse-tung had defeated the two strong men of the Communists, Chin Tu-hsiu who believed in working in cooperation with the Kuomintang, and Li-san who sponsored the strategy of occupying the cities first and the country districts later. Mao Tse-tung allowed him to try to carry out his strategy. Li's strategy was defeated, whereas Mao's strategy triumphed. So he became the leader, with a following determined to follow his policies to the very end. Much to his credit, he literally went through all the difficulties with his followers in the long trail of the so-called "Twenty-five thousand li long expedition". This eating and sleeping with horses and men all the way greatly helped to increase his prestige and his followers' confidence in his leadership. So when the long expedition ended at Yenan, Shensi Province, he was indeed the undisputed leader of the Chinese Communists.

People often wondered why the Chinese Communists undertook such a difficult long trail only to lodge themselves in such a God-forsaken region. To be sure it was very difficult living in caves, but it had its advantages. Simple living greatly helped the leadership of the Communists. Besides, Yenan may be a very primitive place but its communications with Outer Mongolia and Soviet Russia could easily be maintained and concealed. We now know there was a good deal of communication be-

tween the two, whereas at the time there seemed to have been very little.

Besides, the location of Yenan made it easy for them to oppose the Japanese military of which they made so much and such wide propaganda. The Chinese Communists did much in opposing the Japanese in North China, but their propaganda made the people in general believe they actually did very much more. Their propaganda in this respect was so effective that many of the members of many societies, dis-satisfied with the Nanking Government, came to join the Communists banners at Yenan. The propaganda waa carried on in such a way that many people, especially young students, believed it was the Communists who were actually fighting the Japanese and the Nanking authorities were only retreating and under cover trying to negotiate with Japanese agents. Thus Yenan became the "Holy City of the Communists".

Welfare Work And The Public

By nature, I inclined toward welfare work. That is why I have always been connected with the Y.M.C.A. and the China International Famine Relief Commission. When I had been in the bank for about six years, I began to realize that I was a "fish out of water" and ought to find some other job. But the general situation in the country was very unstable and I could not afford to be without pay even for one month. So I had to stay with the bank because the bank's salary was at least reliable.

When the Mikado surrendered, one of the most important private welfare works was transferred from Chungking to Shanghai - The United Service to China. The Executive Secretary of the organization was Mr. Ed-

wards, an old friend in the welfare world. It was private welfare work supported by American contributions giving most important and fundamental aid to all classes of Chinese society. There was important welfare work to be done for the needy ones of my country during and after the Anti-Japan war. It was just the work my heart longed to do. I wanted to resign my work at the bank in order to devote my entire time to this humanitarian work. The bank would not allow me to resign but permitted me to give free to this welfare work as much of my time as could be spared. So I became the Associate Executive Director of the U.S.C. As the bank's work was not heavy, I was able to give much of my free time to the various activities of the U.S.C. At the end of the war the work of the U.S.C. gradually decreased. Finally just before the Communists took over Shanghai the general aid work had come to a stop. The Executive Director returned to the United States and I was left to close the service.

The private aid services and the international welfare work, like UNRRA, must have given away in money and in kind, many millions of dollars. As a Chinese, I would like to see gratitude expressed by my people. United Service to China alone gave $42,000,000. How much gratitude has been shown by the public who received tremendous assistance from those agencies? Proportionately speaking, very little. Moreover, several of those who served in these agencies and were unable to leave China in time, were charged with crimes and held by the Communists for having been in the secret service of an enemy nation. Needless to say the charges were entirely without foundation.

Probably this is one reason why the Chinese people do not dare to give their verbal appreciation for the aid received. But it hurts deeply when one is compelled to attend a large meeting just to listen to a leader speak evil of American private aid agencies, especially one who himself was among the biggest beneficiaries of such aid. On one such occasion, I sat at the front. The speaker saw I was there. He knew that what he said was not the truth and he knew that I knew he was telling lies! Yet he spoke very earnestly just as if he were telling the truth. It was most painful to have to listen to him.

Aurora College For Women

During the Anti-Japan war days, all the schools in Shanghai were closed. The Catholic Futan Women's College (known as Aurora College for Women) alone was open. One of the Catholic mothers took a special liking to my twin girls who were there. She gave them particular Biblical training, of course with the idea that at least one of them should become a Catholic. I had no objection to their having a good knowledge of the Bible. It seems to me the Protestants are woefully lacking in providing opportunities for young people to know their Bible. If one claims to be a Christian and yet does not know his Bible, how can she or he be a Christian? But when one of them spoke to me about joining the Catholic Church, my advice was that she should wait for two more years before making up her mind as to her religious affiliations. By then she would be

old enough to know what she was doing. In my family I always have given the children absolute religious freedom. I do not believe in forcing children to follow strictly my religious affiliations. Of course I would feel happy if they joined the Protestant Church. However, I would not feel badly if they joined the Catholic Church through conviction when they became of age.

Mikado Surrender And Shanghai

Together with the surrender of Japan, many of the Nanking officials, high and low, hurried to Shanghai to secure all sorts of appointments. Excepting a few, most of them made it a point to enjoy themselves as much as they could, in addition to becoming rich in taking over all sorts of organizations and offices, such as the Central Bank and other Government offices. Those in low offices amassed great fortunes by speculating in gold which they smuggled from Chung-king. A few officials engaged in downright kidnapping and robbing. Such practices made us disappointed with the Nanking Regime. We looked towards the future with great apprehension. One low official went back and forth between Chung-king and Shanghai many times. I asked him how he could be so busy. He tried to fool me by telling me lies. He was carrying gold bars to speculate on the Shanghai market for himself and for his superiors. They felt that the few years they had been cooped up in Chung-king entitled them to enjoyment and speculation in Shanghai. They had the air and pride of conquerors. We who for various reasons remained in Shanghai were treated as if we were the defeated people who should be forced to suffer every indignity.

Liberation! Liberation!

The Communists claimed that China was in bondage and not free. They came to liberate China and set her free. They therefore named their army the Liberation Army and called their rule over China the "Period of Liberation". For the sake of marking a difference in China's rule, I can use that term but for nothing else. The people were tired of the rotten administration of the Kuomintang. There was no question but that at first they welcomed a change, for they thought a change could not be for the worse; it must be for the better. So they welcomed the Communists. But they did not see the Communists in their true light. The Communists made a good deal of hullaballoo out of their Anti-Japan fighting, which attracted much attention and fooled many. Those who fought against the Japanese were considered to be only real patriots and the only ones bent upon the real improvement of the country. When the Communists took over the rule of the country they claimed that they had cleaned it up and that China had become really independent, free from Imperialism. China did become a wholly independent nation but this was not due to the Communists. When the Nanking Government was in Chungking, and during the Anti-Japan War, the Imperialistic powers agreed to forego the hold they had on China. They gave up all the concessions and settlements and extra-territorial rights. So when the Mikado surrendered, the Councillors of the Shanghai International Settlement and the French Concession were no more. The first Mayor of Shanghai was a Chinese, ruling according to Chinese rules. The country was then under the Nanking authority. The Communists were

still in Yenan. When China was "liberated" by the Communists a few years later, they did not take over the rule from the foreign imperialists. They captured the centers of Government from the Nanking authorities. Thus the Communists could not claim that they alone freed China from the clutch of foreign Imperialism. They can claim that they liberated China from their predecessors. They can claim that they captured the country from the Kuomintang rulers. They can also claim that they liberated China from corrupt rulers. They cannot claim that it was they who alone cleared the country of Imperialism, though they might claim that they had a hand in driving away the last remnants of Imperialism.

In the middle of the night of May 25th, 1949, I was awakened by gun fire in Shanghai. When I was fully awake, I heard machine guns tattering down the main boulevards near my house. I remarked to my wife that I thought the Communist troops had come into the settlements of Shanghai. Previous to this we had been hearing the distant booming of guns on both sides. Presumably the troops of General T'ang En Po had built numerous pillboxes for the protection of Shanghai. He had been sent to Shanghai for that purpose. Some say that he had a few pillboxes built but pocketed most of the large amount of money he exacted from the well-to-do and the bankers. In any case Shanghai, the largest and the richest city in China was taken by the Communist troops without much effort. There was serious fighting on both sides of the Soo River which lasted about three days. It seemed that the Nanking troops prepared to escape through the Kiang-Wan region for it was by that route that they flew to Formosa. Later on I was told by one who

knew that before they escaped to Formosa, a long chain of trucks had transported from the Central Bank by night great quantities of specie, chiefly gold bars, to the boats docked at the wharves at Kiang-wan. The treasure was shipped to Formosa. If that was true, the "serious" protection of Shanghai was in the main only propaganda.

To make sure, early the next morning I took a long walk down town to see with my own eyes how the Communist troops behaved. I saw a platoon of them resting on the sidewalk by the Y.M.C.A. building. They were fatigued by marching and fighting, but did not bother the people, even for a drink of water. After a little while an officer came and led them away to the place arranged for their lodging. My first impression of the Communist troops was excellent indeed. The people were only too glad to be of some help to them, but they declined help offered, for such were their orders. They were not to bother the people in any way. They looked tame but I was told that they were good fighters.

Mohammedan And Religious Protection

The protection of religion does not apply to the Mohammedans because they are not recognized as religionists. They are classified as people that belong to the minority peoples. They therefore are dealt with along purely political lines. The truth is that the esprit de corps among the Mohammedans is so strong that it would be extremely difficult to control them along the lines of religion. Outwardly they are given some consideration, such as special holidays on their

festivals. These are however in the main only intended to win their goodwill, so as to make it easy to control them. A Mohammedan, however, told me that individuals among them suffer a good deal in the way of unequal treatment. Several of the Mohammedan stores will have to close, due to shortage of supplies. But when the Government is strong enough to deal with the Mohammedans, the lid will be on. During these years the Government has been quietly and persistently working on Northern Shansi and Suiyuan Provinces where the Mohammedans predominate. Recently the Government, feeling that its own organization among the Mohammedans is strong enough, has begun to establish personnel and organizations of control. Mohammedans can do nothing but obey, for they are in no position to rebel against the Government. It is the same with everybody else. All people must unconditionally obey the Party leadership.

Physical Reconstruction Of The Country

Much credit must be given to the Red Chinese Communists for their hard and prompt efforts at national reconstruction. They have accomplished a good deal along such lines. They have practically completed the work of the Huai-ho Conservancy, thus preventing the annual floods which overwhelmed that large tract of land in Northern Anhui Province. Flood prevention work has been going on persistently in different parts of the Huang-ho (Yellow River) drainage area. In a few years it is hoped that was called "China's Sorrow" will become a blessing. Extensive electric operation is going on in different parts of the

country. The railway bridges over the Yangtze River between Hankow and Wuchang, at Chung-king, and the Yellow River Bridge at Changchow are all completed. Several steel work shops in An-tung, Changchun and outside of Loyang and Wuhan are able to produce steel and various steel tools. A few large reservoirs are giving the inhabitants more than the needed supply of water. Voices crying for these facilities were heard in the previous administration but the works were never begun. It must be said to the credit of the Communists that they execute promptly their plans along the line of national reconstruction. If they have faults in some of these works of construction, they lie in their desire to do it quickly. Their eagerness in wanting to show others is often at the root of some difficulties. At Shen-ching on the Canton border they have recently offered the British authorities a free supply of water from their newly completed reservoir near Hong Kong. The British in Hong Kong have not yet accepted their offer, for they prefer to pay for what they receive. Besides, they are not sure of what the Communists really have in their minds when they offered the water. They may have some secret designs of which the British know nothing. It is true that some of the construction that has been done for the sake of the local people, but it is equally true that some of the projects have been done largely for show. And some are not new constructions. They are but the expansion of the work already done by the Japanese in Manchuria or elsewhere. Their propaganda regarding reconstruction has given the people of the different countries the impression that the

Communists have done all the work. This is not quite true. It is only right to tell the public the whole truth. It is not right to claim the entire credit for themselves when it is not always so deserved.

Social Improvements

People all know that the main streets of Shanghai were formerly full of prostitutes in the late evenings. One could hardly walk through the streets without encountering some of them. It so happened that in one of the foreign delegations there were two newsmen who were formerly stationed in Shanghai and therefore knew the conditions there. They were astonished to find the same streets free of such molestation. They were able to walk through the streets without being accosted. The fact was that when the Communists came to liberate Shanghai the very first thing they did was to clean the streets of prostitutes. Almost simultaneously they also cleaned all the streets of beggars. They sent them to houses of correction and later sent them to farms and work houses where they learned useful trades so that they would not have to rely on the houses of ill fame or begging for their living.

In this connection there arose some humorous cases. In one of the temporary camps erected to house these men and women there was a commotion. After some investigation it was discovered that the professional beggars declined to be housed together with the professional pickpockets in beggars' guise, for the fear that whatever little they had might be stolen from them by these men skilled in their hand tricks. The commotion died down only when these two groups were separately housed.

Some of the beggars were transported to North Kiang-su where they were assigned to the colonization plan. Included in the social improvements may also be mentioned the poorest class. There used to be a wide and very dirty brook running along the western border of the former French Concession. The people lived in small grass cottages with open sewage and toilets. In one of my conversations with the assistant director of Public Health, I mentioned the place as an unhealthy spot, breeding mosquitoes and other germs. His answer was that they and the central government authorities all know the place. Soon work was started to clean it up. It seemed that soon after our conversation two of the members of a foreign delegation visited that place and wrote very unfavorable accounts of Shanghai when they got home. To save their face, the Central Government ordered that under no circumstances should such places be allowed to exist. So the dirty brook was eliminated the these poor folk removed to better quarters built for them and for the benefit of all.

No matter for what purposes these social improvements were made the public has greatly benefited. To be sure prostitutes have not been completely suppressed, but there has been a great improvement on the surface, for men are no longer bothered on the main streets. People, especially ladies, can cross the streets peacefully without having their newly purchased goods snatched away from them.

The most fundamental social and educational movement is probably the attempt to stamp out illiteracy. Heretofore the majority of the Chinese population have been illiterate. The Communists have staged a nation-wide movement to enable all the people to read and write.

Aside from lassitude on the part of the underlings assigned to this movement, generally speaking nation-wide efforts have been made. Many more people now can read and write. If an illiterate servant is busy and cannot leave home, the teacher comes to his house to do the teaching. This was done in my own home. Surprising to say the difficulty in spreading the movement lies with the prospective students, not with the teachers. When I encouraged my servant to study, she always declined my urging, giving the poor excuse that she was too old and could not learn. She always said: "Sir, an old dog cannot learn new tricks." I think the real reason is money. Money is the only thing that counts in her life.

Suspicion Without Punishment

Much evil has been done by the Communists' order that one can accuse others without fear of punishment if the suspicion is found to be untrue. This leaves the door wide open for the irresponsible to accuse anyone he may have a grudge against. It also provides an opportunity for one to make a charge against anyone on whom he wants to wreak vengeance. The Communists believe that through such an order they can catch a lot of criminals who otherwise would not be discovered. Can they? They cannot. For this encourages men to be irresponsible in making charges. It provides persons with opportunities to have revenge for nothing else but revenge. A human being is a very valuable asset and should not be dealt with in any irresponsible way.

In the Wuchang and Hankow district a man had been known as a very good man all his life but he was accused by another man holding a high position. The accusation was so serious that the man could not stand it. He attempted suicide. Fortunately he did not take enough poison to cause his death. When he survived the ordeal, he was further accused of using suicide to threaten the authorities. Finally the case was cleared up. It was found that the accuser had a personal grudge against him and had taken occasion to have his revenge. Another innocent man committed suicide and died. His close relatives secured proof of his innocence. The accuser went scot free because he was allowed by the Government to suspect without punishment. When this case of loss of life of an innocent man was brought to the attention of the higher authorities, the verdict was that since the man was dead and therefore could not be restored to life, his family should be subsidized. They did not want the subsidy; they wanted the man. A strange case occurred in the midst of this commotion. A man made a long confession of his crimes. It took the authorities many a month to discover proof of his innocence. When asked why he had made such an entirely unfounded confession of crimes he never committed, his answer was: "To save myself from being suspect by others."

A bank manager was accused by his subordinates of many irregularities. The language they used and their insulting attitude were too much for him. He would kill himself rather than endure further insults and suspicions. He died but the accusers are still free. An accountant in a company, a close relative of the manager, reported many

crimes against the manager. All charges were finally found to be untrue. The accountant made the report in order to cover up the crimes he himself committed. All these evils came from the Government and its failure to deal out just punishment. The more ambitious or the more stupid ones jumped on such a seemingly good opportunity and started to criticize freely in many ways. If the criticized one is a Government minister, his ministry is taken from him along with other punishments. A professor in a leading university in Shanghai not only lost his teaching post but everything was taken from him and he had to go to jail. Another professor criticized the Government, saying, "America has democracy but in practice their democracy is a sham, yet their people have real democratic spirit." To a certain extent what this man stated about the American Government and people is quite true. But he was severely dealt with because he said something good for the Americans. This was not allowed. When one has something to say, he can only say good things about Soviet Russia and bad things about the United States. To say something favorable about the United States during the period of the Free Criticism Movement in Red China was not permitted. By staging this movement they succeeded in discovering a number of malcontents. Henceforward one can be sure the people at large have less faith in the honesty of the Government.

Organization And Discipline

Lenin said two of the four important weapons of Communism were perfect organization and iron discipline. Outsiders are not in a

position to know how discipline in the Party is exercised nor how strict the discipline is. However, judging by what one can see from the outside, the discipline in the Party is indeed very strict. The organization can be seen by those who are non-Communists. Because they wish to know what is going on everywhere, they organize themselves and others in as minutely detailed a way as possible. Doubt is embedded in the minds of all, so one suspects the other. They organize themselves in such a detailed manner that they think they know what the others are doing and thinking at any given minute. Do they know all? They may think they do. Can they know one's thoughts? They may think they can. But my friend will not tell me the truth for fear of discovery. So I cannot judge him by what he says, for it is only by what he thinks you can rightfully judge him. But you do not know what he really thinks. No one knows what goes on in another's mind, unless his speech and thoughts are the same.

The Communists built a large institution outside of Shanghai for the purpose of brain-washing those who are suspected of ideas or thoughts not favorable to the Party. When it was completed, each of the Democratic Leagues was required to send a delegation to this institution for the reconstruction of their thoughts, that is, "brain-washing". At the end of every six months Commencement Exercises take place after which another batch of several hundred similar students go through the same curriculum. It is very doubtful that all the graduates' minds or thoughts are entirely changed in favor of the Communist regime. Some might have their brain quite thoroughly washed while many remain unchanged although their tongues speak quite

favorably of the Party.

Ever since the beginning of "liberation" the Communists instituted different ways, aimed at changing people's thoughts. It seems that they have not been quite sure of their methods in dealing with those about whose thoughts they had doubts. In fact, to doubt is so universal that there is very little mutual trust among the people. Party men doubt each other; husband and wife doubt each other; friends doubt each other; relatives doubt each other. They teach people to doubt each other because by so doing they believe they can find what the people really think, and whether they are for or against them. As a result one's friends became fewer and fewer. There is no real peace among men or even at home. A Chinese proverb says: "People will not know which direction to follow when there is not trust among them."

Management For The People

In taking anything from the people, the Communists first advance some laudable reason. In 1959 they took over all private property in the country. It amounted to confiscation, but they did not want people to think so. So they told the people that they were still the owners but that the Government would manage the property for them. But in managing such properties, the Government will and can do anything. They never consult the owners. They rent the properties to anybody they choose. They make changes in the property without consulting the owners. They decide how much of the rent should go to the owners. The lowest amount going to the owner is five percent of the

rentals and at most fifteen percent. The balance goes to the State bank. The Government decides on the final use of the balance. The owners may have nothing to say. Yet the Government claims that the owners voluntarily turned over the management of the properties to the Government agency.

When some owners offered their whole property to the agency, they were refused on the ground that the offers were not made voluntarily because the owners had not yet learned what the Government's policy was. They must study the Government's policy first, then decide what to do. When the three weeks of required study was over, all the owners decided to turn over their property to the Government for management, because they know by that time that there was no other way. It was plainly a case of confiscation without cause, but they called it simply relieving the owners of the trouble of renting their properties, and that they, the Government, offered out of kindness, to manage the properties for the owners. It was one more way for the Government to find more money.

Poverty And Ignorance

Poverty and ignorance formed a rich field for Communism. Communism flourishes in the field of poverty and ignorance. Before coming into power, Communists declared that it was they who would give the poor and the rich equal treatment. Within the past ten years, the people have passed the ownership of a few mou of land and a few other things to the Communes and have found out that they owned nothing, not even their own souls. As individuals they must obey the Govern-

ment. If the Government orders one to go to the East, he dares not go to the West. There will be no food ration if one dares to disobey. He will starve to death. He finds that there is even no equality, for you must unconditionally obey the leadership of the Party, in which one completely looses his identity. The dignity of the human being is not considered.

One man refused for some reason to obey the order of the Government to serve in a deserted spot in Kiangsi Province. He remained in Shanghai and worked unknown as a doctor. He could not secure food to eat. He did not dare come out into the open. Such a situation could not last long. He finally had to accept an offer from the Government agency which alone controls food supplies. It is the same old story. Because the Government controls all the food, it can always be sure to starve people into submission. For there are very few people in this world who would rather starve to death than to submit to tyranny, and they know it.

To the Communists' capital of Yenan in Shensi, flew many students and all the members of the Democratic League, because they believed in the Communists' propaganda that they alone were in earnest in attacking the Japanese invaders. They then found themselves held in a tight vise from which they could not escape. Each time the Party through the Government made an announcement, the Democratic Leagues had to follow with a supplementary note of approval. They know better now and are no longer so ignorant, but it is too late. They must do as they are told, or else they will be eliminated.

During the brief time of free criticism without punishment, several high officials of the Democratic Leagues voiced their dissatisfaction with the composition of the Government and the conduct of its affairs. Their posts were taken away from them and ever since there has been no word of their whereabouts.

This leads me to speak of the conditions in India. It seems to me that India offers a great field to Communism because, as every one knows, the poverty and ignorance of her people are the greatest in the world. Mr. Nehru, together with his difficulties has constantly to combat the insidious workings of the Communists. It will be to his great credit if India does not eventually go Communistic.

The Fundamental Assets

Every human being makes mistakes. Every organization of Government makes mistakes. It is only human to make mistakes. As the China proverb says: "How could one escape from making mistakes, since no one is a saint." Communists are also human after all. It is excusable to make mistakes in one's daily tasks. But one should be absolutely sure not to make fundamental mistakes. That is very serious. Fundamentals do not allow mistake making. So I am not at all concerned when the Communists made the usual mistakes. I am concerned in their making the fundamental mistakes which, sad to say, they do not consider to be mistakes, and do not at all intend to make any changes. In their life and rule they insist that it is only within their sphere that there is liberty, freedom and democracy. In the so-called democratic countries they do not have liberty, freedom and real democracy.

Friends have asked me how the Chinese people like Communist rule. My reply is to the effect that it is the people in Red China may be divided into three classes. The first class is composed of the young who have grown up inside the Communists' educational system. They know nothing outside of Red China. They only know what Red China wants them to know. They do not know the old society, neither do they know what goes on in the new society. They know nothing about religion, for in the Communist educational system there is no such a word as religion. They are satisfied with what they get when they graduate from college. They are taught to work for the State and to look to the State for everything. Whatever the State grants, they are satisfied with. They know no better life, so they are for Communism.

The second class includes the middle aged who know both the old and the new. They are not at all satisfied with Communist rule. But they cannot escape the system and must work and live under it. They do not dare to leave their work for fear that they cannot secure another job. They do not dare to resign for fear that it will involve them in other complications. Although they are not at all satisfied with the regime, they must play the game and go along with it till the time comes when they may retire.

The third class includes the old folks who are either too old to work or who have retired. They also know fully the life in the old society as well as something of the new. Through experience they know how to interpret events. They try to think things through. They do not believe readily everything that is said. They excuse the

Communists for their common mistakes. However, they believe the fundamental mistakes are serious, that is, the mistakes which are not considered mistakes. In the famous patriotic speech delivered to the American Congress by Patrick Henry, he concluded by saying: "Give me liberty or give me death." The Communists insist that politics are above all, and all people must obey the leadership of the Party. Under such a rule, it stands to reason that there cannot be liberty, freedom and democracy, no matter what they say. There is no liberty, freedom or democracy. A country so ruled is just like building a nice house on sand. Beaten by rain and storm, the house will fall to pieces. That is precisely what the Communist State is.

Added to this is their disbelief in religion. So the nice house they are building is formal and cold. There is no human warmth in it. Even the people of the above first class, when they grow older, will pay more attention to the fundamentals which are not there, and which they cannot have. But they must have liberty, freedom and democracy. If they cannot have them they will eventually fight for them. Then, in fifteen or twenty years, serious troubles for the Communists will come. China then will have another revolution, unless the Communists change their ways. But they are for the interest and power of the Party. It is very doubtful that they will change what they consider fundamental.

Protection Of Religious Faith?

A member of a visiting foreign delegation, invited by the Red

Chinese authorities, asked about the future of religion in China. He was referred to that article in the new Constitution drafted and approved by the Red Parliament, or Legislative Body, which definitely provides for the protection of religious faith. Do the Red Chinese really carry this out? Let us see. When the Government appointed a Christian to be the representative of all the religious bodies, he did not fully understand his responsibilities. At first he asked the government authorities for the release of several churches in the country districts which had been occupied either by the troops or by some local official organizations. Until today they have not been turned over. This man was at the same time asked to be in charge of the so-called "The Three Self and Patriotic Commission", which in fact was to control all the Protestants and the Protestant organizations for the Government. He then understood that he was to carry out the orders of the Government. Since the Party does not believe in religion, it goes without saying that it cannot favor religious organizations with protection or encouragement. There were more than two hundred Protestant churches in Shanghai. Under the guise of doing away with the very small churches and thus providing the Government with the very much needed houses, the number of Protestant churches in Shanghai was reduced to about thirty. I was told before I left Shanghai, the number was going to be reduced again to about eighteen. To give the Government some face, their number may be allowed to remain until the old members die, and when no new blood has taken their place, the churches will die out together with the Christian religion.

There is no new or young blood because the young all grow up under the educational system which is under the Party's absolute control and in which no mention of religion can be found anywhere. They will know what the Party wishes them to know. Since the Party does not believe in religion these young people will grow up knowing nothing of religion. The government does not allow street preaching or street chapel preaching on the ground that it will be impossible for the Government to maintain order. In the constitution it also provides freedom for those who do not believe in religion to protest. Hence if such preaching were allowed, the religious opponents would actively protest and there would be many local conflicts which would, they say, make it very difficult to maintain order. Previous to "Liberation", people were free to protest, but we did not hear of many local disturbances. Was this not a lame duck excuse to make the Protestants die a natural death? The Party could thus free itself of the charge of willfully stamping out religion. Christianity is an active religion. Jesus instructed His disciples to preach the Gospel to the ends of the earth. Without being able to propagate, it, of course, will die out.

Seven of the very best equipped churches in Shanghai are chosen for the inspection of any Christian member of a foreign delegation who desires to see how churches are getting along in Red China. The tour is always conducted by the same person, a rabid opponent of foreign influences.

I asked a monk in a temple in the West Lake Region in Hangchow how much was his support. His answer was: "There are only two of us

watching the temple, not of Buddha as a place of worship, but for the Government as a place of sight-seeing interest. We are allowed to keep only thirty dollars a month of the income. We must turn over to the Government agents any excess amount. If we receive less than thirty dollars a month, then we must try to get along with what we get."

At one time word arrived in Shanghai from Peking to the effect that some foreign visiting delegates wished to visit several of the leading temples. The Bubling Well Temple, a very well-known temple in Shanghai, was ordered by the Shanghai Municipality to be thoroughly repaired and the occupying troops to vacate the Temple at once. When it was well repaired from top to bottom and inside out and made just like new, it was found that there were no monks. They had all been forced to leave their posts in the temple as the Party members considered their work in the temple was "fleecing" the people, which is not allowed by the Party. These monks had to be recalled. When they returned to the temple, they were all dressed in dirty and poor blue cloth uniforms, and had no money with which to buy surplices. So when the foreign party arrived in Shanghai, they saw a brand new Bubbling Well Temple with the monks clad in new surplices. Does that prove that the Government and therefore the Party, is sincere in its efforts in protecting religion? No. I was told that these visitors, in their interview with the premier of the Red regime in Peking, were told that the Communists did not believe in religion. When the students graduate from the present educational system under the absolute control of the Communist Party, there is no room for religion. When

the young grow up, they will not know what religion is. The existing churches will die as their old members pass on. In a short time China will have no religions. This is the aim of the Communist Party in China. The Communists believe that will be the future of Christianity in China. We will see which side is going to triumph.

Money And Power

When one enters the banking world one immediately realizes the power of money. When I was a student in the United States I often heard about the power of the "Almighty Dollar". Not until I became a banker in Shanghai did I begin to see the tremendous power that money enjoys, especially in Shanghai where money and influence were the only things that counted. A friend of mine, a very able and bright young man, was invited to join the bank in its Shanghai Branch, principally to learn the banking business. Several classmates in college, who apparently were doing quite well in the speculation world, called him in the bank. He envied them but thought that having been a far better student in college, he certainly ought to be able to do better than they in the financial market. Therefore he plunged into speculation. As a rule gamblers always have initial success and he had his share of success at the beginning, and that encouraged him to go into larger bids in which he lost heavily. He went into debt deeply from which he could not pull himself out. He became a poor man and his friends all deser-

ted him because he had no money. And money talks. He also lost his job in the bank. Later on, however, ~~he~~ he had the rare luck to go abroad with a very high official and was able to earn big commissions in the purchase of munitions. So he returned to China rich. All his former friends came back to him. For does not money count? In Shanghai at that time money alone counted. He came to be regarded highly and many counted it a great honor to be treated by him as a friend.

The bank refused a man who asked for a loan which he would return in the Fall when, according to the usual run of his affairs, things would be in good shape. He had no influence for he had no high position. In a few years he got a high appointment in the Government and then the bank was only too anxious to get in right with him by making him loans. He secured large loans without guarantees which he was unable to return. The bank had to take the loss. This is a case showing how influential a man of power can be. The banks were guilty in playing into the hands of men of power without realizing the evil consequences. Such losses were common. Shanghai listened to money and power only. The banks played the game in the same manner, but with other's money deposited in the bank, a trust which they greatly abused.

Christianity And War

Those opposed to Christianity took the war as evidence of the failure and unreliability of the Christian religion. War is carried on by those who either do not believe in the Christian religion or who are only nominal Christians. During the Anti-Japan war, the

National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. of Japan dispatched one of its secretaries to China to help the Chinese Y.M.C.A. in its activities under very trying circumstances. This man sometimes was so energetic in speaking well of the Chinese Y.M.C.A. that even the Japanese gendarmes asked him whether he was a Chinese or a Japanese. Another well known Christian leader in Japan also came to China and did some Christian work. But when he returned to Shanghai a second time he came under the Japanese military control. He was glad to do the bidding of the Japanese military and did nothing Christian at all. War is not Christian. But during war some Christian organizations are willing and able to do some Christian work. It is largely a matter of spirit and will. The churches and the Y.M.C.A. and the Salvation Army were able to perform some wonderful service on both sides of the fighting fronts during the two World Wars. This leads me to say the world will have to learn and to learn deeply that those who wield the sword will be killed by the sword, and we will have to wield weapons that lead to world peace if we honestly want peace. War will lead to war; that goes without saying. Peaceful means will eventually lead to peace. Christianity preaches love and love to enemies. It is only by love as preached by Jesus that we will have world peace in the end. All other means will end in other ways but will not end in peace. At most they can lead to toleration and temporary sufferance but not to permanent world peace.

How News Of Victory Came To Shanghai

For quite a few days there had been persistent rumors that the

fortune of war had gone against the Japanese. The air in Shanghai was full of such reports. It was also reported that the Japanese military authorities had been meeting to discuss surrender to the Allies. Were it not for the strong opposition of the Japanese Army, the other military branches would have pressed hard for the further execution of the war. Then one day the news came to Shanghai that the Japanese Mikado decreed an "unconditional surrender", to the allies in the Pacific. Many groups gathered on the streets of Shanghai agitatingly talking about it. One group suddenly remembered those allied men and women interned in the different camps. One young woman volunteered to spread this happy news to them as she happened to have a bicycle. When she reached one camp she hollered the good news to the inmates from a high spot just outside of the camp. The Japanese guards of that camp had not yet been told of it. So performing their duty, they took her into camp and had her imprisoned. After being questioned carefully for several hours she was allowed to go with the warning that she should not do it again. When the officer accompanying her out of the camp came to the door, he stood at attention and whispered into her ears saying: "Thank God the war is over." It turned out that he was an overseas Japanese from California caught by the war while he was paying a visit to his relatives in Japan. Hours later the regular news arrived in Shanghai telling us that the Japanese Mikado decided to surrender because of the terrible disaster of the destruction wrought by the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Previously to this, there had always been reports of the repeated victories of the Japanese army and

the Chinese defeats one after the other, excepting the very occasional and limited victories of the Red Guerrillas over the Japanese soldiers in North China. The Chinese Red troops retreated into the interior as a matter of strategy, pending the regrouping of their strength and the arrival of foreign assistance. This retreat was much played up as if the Reds alone in China had done the fighting. It was rumored that, in fact, China was quietly negotiating peace proposals with the Japanese authorities through the Puppet regime in Nanking, headed by that leading puppet, Wang Ching-wei. In any case, due to the lack of a united aim in working for the welfare of the people, instead of for themselves, and the persistent efforts on the part of the Communists to show to the people that they alone were patriots, the Anti-Japan war resulted in favor of the Communists.

The Peace That Did Not Come

With the Japanese surrender everybody surmised that peace had come to this world. It had been a very destructive war, especially for the prople, due to the large aeroplanes' striking power over wide and deep areas inside of the countries concerned. Added to this was the development of the destructive power of the atomic bomb. All the world over we heard, as we had soon after the First World War, that war is so destructive that there simply cannot be another war. So peace would come here to stay. Yet it has been fifteen years since the German defeat, and the world is still full of possible conflicts and cold war. We have no peace. We have the Cold War between the Communist camp and the capitalist camp. The latter tries to contain

the former, and the former endeavors to destroy the latter. In the Far East, China proper is fully dominated by the Communists but Formosa is occupied by Chiang's men who are ever on the alert to look for an opportunity to recover the lost land. India struggles with China for the land claimed by the Communists. The two camps struggle hard for the control of the new Japan, which hopes to be the mistress of the Pacific. Particularly in China, peace is far distant. People in China longed for peace which did not come. With the end of the Anti-Japan war, members of the Chung-king Government naturally were expected to restore the government to Nanking; the former seat of the National Government. Not so. Those who had business firms in Shanghai before the war were only too anxious to go back to Shanghai to revive their business, while others just flocked back to Shanghai and plunged into speculation to make more money. Some of them had already become rich in Chungking days by taking undue advantage of some connection with the Finance Ministry to speculate on gold bars and the fluctuation of the currency notes. They were crazy to make money, forgetting that their primary duty was to help run the Government, making it good for the people. In a word, they all flocked to Shanghai to get rich quick in speculation. The thought to give the country a good government took last place. Everybody was for himself. Thus, while individuals in the Government grew rich, the country became poor and disorganized.

The American businessmen made it worse. Markets were flooded with American commodities, causing a good deal of confusion, because the Chinese producers had no market in which to dispose of their

goods. The financial situation grew worse. Peace did not come. The country was plunged into deeper confusion. The Communists, ever alert and with their well worked out plans, took advantage of the situation and helped to make it worse. Finally they came forward and made themselves the saviors of the country. Many elements rushed to their banners, particularly the young student class. When they were in the spider's web, they found their liberty and freedom lost, even their human dignity. They could only do what they were told to do, and could not do what they thought to be right. Many wanted to get out but could not secure the much needed permit.

This leads me to explain why the Chinese Communists undertook such a long and very difficult journey from Jui-chin way down in South China to Yenan, a God-forsaken region in North China. Jui-chin was not a very beautiful place, but certainly much more attractive than Yenan where they had to live and work in caves. There was a reason. And that was the place. The Yenan region was contiguous to Outer Mongolia which had free access to Soviet Russia. In spite of the very crude living conditions in Yenan, it had a definite advantage over Jui-chin in that they could communicate with Soviet Russia freely. The success of the Chinese Communists came about through their uninterrupted intercourse with Soviet Russia while in Yenan, which they could not enjoy in Jui-chin in South China. Many students were sent to study and receive training in Soviet Russia, including Liu Shao-chi and several other high Chinese Communists. There was constant communication between the two Communist camps. Russia also welcomed such a change of the Chinese base to North

China. She succeeded in winning the support and control of the Chinese Communists who were and are of tremendous assistance to them in their program of world domination.

It is true that the world at present (1946) is without visible fighting between the nations. However that does not mean that there is peace in the world. The cold war raging with the U-2 and RB47 incidents is further intensified. Who knows how this cold war will end? Probably there will be other deliberately made incidents by the countries concerned to suit their purposes in order to prolong this state of affairs. So long as there is the program of world domination, there cannot be peace. Peace will never come so long as such a program persists.

The Pearl Harbour In Shanghai

My telephone rang. A friend of Dutch origin telephoned that he thought the Socony gas tanks near Wu-sung were on fire caused by the Japanese military. The tanks did not catch fire but were taken by the Japanese troops, because meanwhile Japanese airmen were attacking Pearl Harbour. This attack created a radical change among the Nationals in China of those countries connected with the Second World War. Suddenly we found our dear neighbors had to pack up and be interned. For a time they lost their freedom. At times we furnished them with certain necessities they could not obtain in the internment camps. Fortunately after some time they returned to their homelands through the exchange of internees. The sailors and offi-

cers of the British gunboats stationed in the Whang-poo were ordered to surrender. They refused and swam to the International Settlement. So part of Shanghai was in Japanese hands and the other part was nominally the French Concession. For the time being we were free from the Japanese occupation.

Children's Education Abroad

It is generally the rich that send their children to study abroad. Seldom can the poor do the same. Not long before Pearl Harbour the fortunes of war began to turn against the Japanese troops in all stages of war. The air was full of rumors that the Japanese had decided to defend Shanghai to the death. In the event of necessity the large number of Chinese living in the French settlement and in the International Settlement would be required to enter military service. To my way of thinking it would be terribly bad for the Chinese to fight the Chinese for the protection of Shanghai which was in the enemy's hands. I therefore sent my eldest son to study in the United States to avoid that bad possibility. When the Anti-Japan war was over, my other children were all fast growing up and all but the youngest were going to college. I cannot claim that they were all excellent students. But they were all good enough to merit scholarships. I therefore approached the college authorities for such scholarships.

They all refused my application on the ground that I was a banker and had money and did not need scholarships. I told them

that there were bankers and bankers. I was not rich as I belonged to the salaried class. They still refused my request for, as they said, my bank could subsidize my children's education. I cannot deny that some children of the bank's staff received such subsidies. But I did not belong to that class, and such personal favors from the General Manager did not come to me. Failing to secure scholarships for my children in colleges in China and unable to provide financially for their proper education, I was forced to find opportunities for them elsewhere. I did not intend to send them all to the United States. But because it was there that they could find work and study, there they were sent. I provided enough money for their third class passage. They did well and worked hard. After graduation they all found good positions from which they not only earned a good living for themselves, but could also provide for their parents' old age. In my original plans for them to work for education abroad I did not include their support of us. However it is fine to know that they are all doing well and able and willing to support their parents in their old age.

To both work and study is an excellent idea, provided one can easily find opportunity for work in his spare hours. This reminds me of my experience in France. One day I received an urgent telegram from Marseilles, Southern France, appealing to me to use my good offices to get the Commandant of a large French barrack in Marseilles to agree to open two of the barracks to house for a few days a large number of Chinese students. They had just arrived from China to seek work and education in France in care of the Work and Study Association, but they

could not find hotel accommodations in Marseilles. Accommodations were arranged for the students. Many of them however could not find suitable work to enable them to further their studies. "Work and study" was a new idea and France as a rule does not provide such opportunities. However, one of the large steel industries in central France was willing to take in a few of the students. They were given the preliminary steel work jobs. The students, excepting two or three who were of particularly strong constitution, were all laid up not because they did not wish to work, but because the steel work was too heavy for them. To ease the situation, the Labor Commission of the Y.M.C.A. created special secondary secretaryships to help a few of them.

Facing The Japanese Gendarmes

After the surrender of the Japanese Mikado, an agreement was reached between China and the United States according to which the United Sates would sell her war supplies to China cheaply. We also learned that some shiploads of war supplies were dumped into the Indian Ocean when victory came to the Allies. People could purchase at ridiculously low prices American military supplies on the streets of Shanghai which for a time were flooded with such goods. The Chinese trains were using blankets marked U.S. Navy. When my children reached the Pacific Coast in 1947, American friends asked them whether they had seen 1946 American cars in Shanghai. Many 1947 Buicks were running on the streets of Shanghai! I have an army cot, marked "U.S. Navy", which I bought on the sidewalks of Shanghai. My nephews reported that the military go-

downs were full of all kinds of things, which, however, the people on the outside could not have in 1947. This state of affairs speaks quite loudly of the tremendous waste, both purposely and otherwise of the American military machine. Some of this may be justified, but much is quite doubtful. But to a country whose people for a long time had been in want, all looked to be waste and waste. We had to count our coins, when the American were dumping good supplies into the Indian Ocean. The American Navy sold cheap supplies to China, while the same things could be secured on the sidewalks of Shanghai. People could not understand it. There must be deliberate waste somewhere, for it was clearly there. Who was responsible? The Navy, or somebody else? The universal impression was that the United States was a very rich nation. However it can be said that the United States stressed the value of the individual soldier. A little waste did not matter. Much does. Is that why it costs so much more for the United States to conduct a war than for the other nations? I certainly appears to be great waste in the eyes of those who have to labor hard for every single coin that they get hold of.

A good many of my friends had to leave Peking on account of their official positions. They all left to me the voluntary positions that they had been holding because I was the only unofficial person whom they could trust. So for a time I was either chairman or president of more than thirty organizations. Although these were all voluntary public welfare organizations, the Japanese authorities considered me potentially a very dangerous person. They thought that in time of trouble I might easily turn these organizations into anti-Japan groups.

So early one morning their agents came to my bedroom and asked me to get dressed to go with them to their headquarters at the former Peking University Red Hall. Soon I was taken to a room where an officer and an interpreter awaited me. At first questioning I offered to tell the officer my whole story up to date. He agreed because he knew English. I told a straight story as I had nothing to hide. Evidentally the story I told coincided with the story they already had about me. After a few inconsequential questions I was released. The officer accompanied me to the main gate and bowed and said: "Hereafter we will come to the bank to ask questions. We will not trouble you to come to headquarters." When the General Manager heard of my trouble with the Japanese gendarmes in Peking, he sent me the following telegram: "Urgent matter for consultation, come immediately" On the strength of that wire I went to Shanghai to work and stayed until my departure from Red China for Hong Kong, nineteen years later. When I was in Shanghai I tried to remain anonymous. Excepting for a few unavoidable posts, I was a nonentity, and the Japanese left me untouched. But later, while I was in India, they asked my wife to go to headquarters for questioning. She was abld to go through the ordeal unscathed. That created more commotion in the bank than at my home.

Marshall Effort and the Communists

The war was over but the internal struggle between the Nanking Government and the Communists became more intense.

The Communists seemed to have prospered by the Anti-Japan War. They were stronger and better equipped. They were in a better position to challenge the authorities in Nanking for the rule of the nation. But it slowed up the process of rebuilding the country. Through the good intention of President Truman, General Marshall was sent to China to attempt a reconciliation. President Truman counted on the strength of General Marshall's great record during the war. It was not a bad appointment. President Truman however, did not know the vast difference in temperament, background, and psychology between Orientals and Occidentals. While General Marshall may have been a great soldier, able to direct large armies in the Occident, he did not have the knowledge to do the same in the Orient. It was true that he served in the army in Tientsin. That however gave him a very limited field to study China and the Chinese. All his plans might be successful in the West, but they were ordained to failure in the East.

The Communists fenced with him and his plans, for it gave them the needed time to equip themselves better with the arms that the Russians captured from the Japanese Kwantung Army in Manchuria which they refused to return to Nanking. It also gave them time to regroup the large number of well trained soldiers whom they were able to win over to their side and who were despised by the Kuomintang generals. When this was done their attitude stiffened. Together with the duplicity of Nanking high officials, Marshall's efforts ended in complete failure. The failure of that mission hastened the downfall of the Kuomintang Government in Nanking. With the well tfained and well equipped Red armies and

too much attention was given to the large cities by the Government troops, the collapse of the Government Army was rapid and complete. In an amazingly short time the Communists were able to overrun the country, and the Nanking Government had to flee for its life to Formosa. They say that they are in Formosa to recoup and then they will be able to regain and restore their country in a short time. Without complete moral regeneration of the whole group who had their day in Nanking and failed, it is quite doubtful they can do so. Physically with American aid they may be able to do so, but how long they can hold it is quite a question. Further, it is quite doubtful that the Americans are in the game purely to assist Formosa in regaining Continental China.

The present group of men in Formosa had their time of running the Government and failed. This group is further weakened by the withdrawal or decamping of quite a few of the strong leaders. They cannot regain China, no matter what they say, if their military strength is limited by the territory they hold, while the Communists have a well trained and well equipped army many times larger, to say nothing of the tremendous number of so-called volunteers among the people at large. But the Communists are very weak in their fundamental purpose to create a new China. Eventually they will fail for their house is being built on sandy foundations. What and who will then rule the nation? That is the most important question of the day. Let us hope and pray that a new group of men will rise up to take over the national rule, a new group of men and women who will rule the country wholly for the welfare of the people and not for themselves.

Communist Rule

First of all, the Communists rule for SHOW. During the past few years of the Communist regime many of foreign delegations have been invited to visit Communist China, particularly on the occasion of May First, (Labor Day), and October First, Founding Day of the People's Republic of China. On these occasions the foreign delegations are given the opportunity to witness the might and improvement of Red China, and to see how enthusiastic the people are for the Red Regime. After the celebration in Peking the foreign delegations go to Shanghai and to some other places of industrialization and newly repaired places of interest. It should be pointed out that in the demonstrations and at the places of interest the people are always instructed as to what to say to the visitors. In a word, they are to sing the praises of the Communists and their regime. They are always geared to see that the visitor shall only see the good things and new construction, so that they will have only good words to say to their people. But there are vast numbers of people who are living in the country and in the slum districts of cities in hunger and poverty which the foreign visitors are never allowed to see. Many of the places of industrialization were not entirely constructed and operated by the Communists, but were originally built by the Japanese during their occupation.

With observing eyes, Madame Pundit of India saw slave labor in China. She said so. This greatly offended the Communists who protested that China had no slave labor. All labor was absolutely

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voluntary. That is not true. Red China indeed has slave labor. Only it is given an attractive name, such as working farms, thought-changing institutions, etc. The Red Chinese authorities carry on a good deal of propaganda about the rapid conclusion of many of their gigantic works. Most of them were completed actually by slave laborers who work day and night. Visitors should not call it slave labor, say the Communists, but fundamentally these works are completed for spreading the good name of the Party for the purpose of SHOW.

They claim that they had completed the new buildings in record time, in a period much shorter than that required by the previous administrations. But their laborers worked day and night and the buildings' exteriors are often smeared with plaster. In a few years one of these buildings cracked in several places. They blamed the contractor who told them at the beginning that the work could not be done that way. They would not listen. The building showed faulty construction. They wanted to shift the responsibility on to the contractor. In Shanghai they built the Sino-Russian Palace to house different exhibits. They wanted to show that the building is the highest in Shanghai and was finished in the shortest time of all. So they built a slender tower with a flag pole on top making it higher by a few inches than a really high hotel building in the city. That building and several large buildings are almost as high as the palace itself, but they were constructed with stone and brick, for solidity not for show.

Politics Above All

The Red China regime insists that Politics should be above all. That means, for instance, if a student goes through the entrance examinations in flying colors in all other subjects, but is low in a subject dealing with politics, he cannot enter college. If he is excellent in his final examinations but not very good in a course in politics he cannot graduate. There have been many cases like this which have prevented excellent material from pursuing further education or from service to the nation. But if a student is good in politics but poor in all other subjects, he will be highly awarded with flattering offers. It is the same in all walks of life. Since in a Communist Regime the State or the Party controls all, if one is poor in politics he loses all chances for advancement, because the State alone can say whether he is due such honors. A person who may render good service in his organization but is somewhat backward in his political thought will not merit any chance of promotion. A man who may not believe in what he says, but who talks progressively, traveling along with the political lines of the day, will receive ready promotion. Hence the Government is full of fellow travelers.

The End Justifies The Means

Probably many of the evils of the Communist Regime came from this: "The end justifies the means." The ultimate is the Party. Whatever is good for the Party justifies any means to have that done.

If the end can be reached by means of love, then use love by all means. If hatred can help to reach that goal, at all cost use hatred. If there is no hatred, place hatred in persons' minds. When the task is finished, take the hatred out to be used again whenever it is needed! They believe that you can plant hatred, or any other feeling, in the mind of man and take it out at will. The facts are that it cannot be so done. Hatred will forever remain in the minds of men. When it kindles again it may be to your serious injury, although at first it might have been useful to you. This belief that human efforts can defeat Heaven, that human power alone is almighty, is at the root of many evils.

A high official, formerly of the Nanking Government, came to Peking to surrender. In view of what he had done, and according to what they usually do to persons of that kind, the man should have been shot. But they treated him well, giving him a fine residence to live in and a large subsidy for his household expenses. Why? Because they believe he can be useful to them and to the Party. Once they believe his usefulness to the Party is over, he will be dealt with summarily. Some trumped up charges will be made against him for which he must suffer the consequences. He has been imprisoned for five years for a crime he never committed. He was just an undesirable person in the eyes of the Communists. He was not useful to the Party, so he must be placed in prison. When the Committee on Investigation came to Shanghai and severely criticized the legal side of the Administration, this man was released for they found no proof

of his crime. He suffered five years imprisonment for nothing. He did not know that he was imprisoned mainly because the authorities thought he was not useful to the Party. But when the chairman of the Investigation Committee returned to Peking, he himself was involved in something with which he had no connection. He lost favor with the Party, for he was found no longer useful. The man in Shanghai was again taken into prison and later died there - he was charged with a crime of which he knew nothing. It was a trumped-up charge because he was considered by the authorities as a man who was harmful to the Party, therefore he must be gotten rid of in some way. They believed that the "end justifies the means".

Unconditional Obedience To Party Leadership

There has been much talk about LIBERTY AND FREEDOM. The Communist claim that in their camp alone there is real liberty, freedom, and democracy. It is all tommyrot for other countries to say that China has freedom and democracy. The liberty, freedom, and democracy in China is nothing but sham. They talk loud about them, but in action they fail. The Communists say that it is they who practice real liberty, freedom, and democracy in Government. Yet they insist on the people's unconditional obedience to Party leadership. If unconditional obedience, where does liberty, freedom, and democracy come in? There is simply no room for such factors,but they purposely insist

on talking about democracy to fool those who travel along with them. The plain fact is that in a country whose Government, the Party, insists that all the people unconditionally obey the Party leadership, there cannot be liberty, freedom, and democracy. It is a country under the absolute control of a dictatorship in which even the dignity of the individual does not exist. The Party controls everything. If one disobeys any order, he is not given any food. He has either to die of starvation or unconditionally obey. Naturally it leads to the establishment of a tyrannical rule by bureaucracy in which the officials, and the high officials alone count. The Communists realized that, and that was why they instituted yearly movements to stamp out bureaucracy. But the stronger the movement the worse it becomes.

One day at the crossing of West Forty-Second Street and Fifth Avenue in New York, I saw President Taft's motor car stopped and the traffic police hand the chauffeur a ticket for speeding. The chauffeur had to go to the police station to pay the penalty and President Taft remained silent. One day three years ago I happened to be in Peking at the crossing of Chin Yü Hutung and Morrison Street. The policeman stopped a bicyclist in order to make room for an official in an automobile to pass through. Although the cyclist was observing the rules, the automobile simply neglected any traffic regulations. Since only officials of high rank can travel in automobiles, the man in the car concerned must have been a high official Which country or who really has democracy?

It is often said that the Communists aim at the destruction of classes, groups and organizations. They do. No group of any kind is

allowed to function unless it is a Government organization promoted and controlled by the Government or the Party. The so-called Democratic League or societies are allowed to function, but they must carry out Government orders and report first for permission for what they propose to do. Masonic Clubs, Rotary Clubs, different alumni associations, provincial guilds, etc. must be closed. It is one way to have all listen to the dictation of the Party. But in their place many more classes and orders are created by and for the Government which greatly increase the danger of bureaucracy. A profession is divided into so many grades or classes to which both new and old workers are appointed. They usually go into twenty or thirty grades. Each grade has strict requirements, even to the tea glasses. For instance, a man newly appointed to be a departmental chief was mistakenly served tea in a glass ordinarily used by an official of lower grade. He immediately admonished the servant (or comrade) and cautioned him never to make the same mistake again. However there are also extra or special grades, to which men like Mao Tse-tung and Chou En-lai belong. They have freedom to spend Government funds in any way they see fit.

Under this category many evils are covered up. Recently an order was issued by the Government to the effect that henceforth for good work an official may be promoted to a higher grade but with no increase in his salary. This is given the high sounding purpose to help to save money for the Government construction. The pay is uniformally low for the sake of helping Government construction. How many workers agree to this kind of oppression? Very

141 few. I have often heard people crying to remain in the same grade but increase their pay. It all goes back to the same policy of unconditional obedience to Party leadership.

A Visit To India

During the Japanese occupation in 1938, an International Missionary Conference was held in Madras Christian College just outside of Madras, India. As a delegate of the North China Congregational Church, I first went to Shanghai with the delegation to join the China group and proceed to India together.

> The following should be added as to how he came to be selected to attend this meeting: When it came to the selection by the Executive Committee of the National Christian Council, meeting as usual in Shanghai, of 49 delegates allotted to China for this meeting, it became apparent without any formal nomination by his church (the North China Kung Li Hui) that a large majority of the Committee were united in feeling that he should be one of the group. He was known to them not as a church or mission executive - the nationwide group from whom most of the delegates were naturally chosen - but as a layman who par excellence incarnated the type of character best qualified to represent the slightly more than half a million Protestant Christians of China. Consequently, and without his being present or knowing what was happening, he was chosen to be one of the 32 Chinese, along with 17 Westerners, who went to India and so well represented their great wartorn country.

Through the good offices of the Ministry of Finance, we were able to purchase a limited amount of foreign exchange at the official rate. On our way to India a delegate from Shanghai, who was a member of the People's Confederate League, tried hard to turn the China Group into a political unit to make an appeal at the

Madras Conference for China's sake against Japan. As the International Missionary Conference was purely a religious conference the Chinese delegates were very reluctant to inject political propaganda into it. Besides China's cause was already very well known to all the delegates. Political propaganda in China's favor might hurt China's cause. Finally this man's effort was futile. Japan also sent a fairly large delegation to this Conference. But it could only reach Singapore where they were ordered to stop by the Japanese military authorities. The Conference had to begin wi without the Japanese delegation. When the Chinese and other delegates reached Columbo, Ceylon, a telegram came from Madras advising them to remain over two more days in Columbo as Madras College was not quite ready to receive them. Churches in Columbo welcomed the delegates at Sunday worship service. All the delegates were supposed to sit on the platform. When the time came only the delegate from Africa appeared on the platform. I did not like this. I went upon the platform to sit with them as I considered it my Christian duty to do so.

When the Conference finally convened, it proved that under very trying circumstances the Christian spirit was still prevailing, and that Christians still could overcome national barriers and animosities and meet and talk reasonably on equal footing. That fact alone made it worthwhile to hold such a conference. Another feature of the Conference was the personality of one of the delegates. He was a British delegate * who attracted the attention of

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* C. F. Andrews

all other delegates. He did not deliver any address. And in fact he did not do anything in particular, but he riveted the attention of many delegates by his history and appearance. He looked like the traditional picture of Jesus. When he came to India he soon joined a native ashram to fully identify himself with the natives. In the conference, a Hindu friend frequently insisted that the missionaries should join the native ashrams immediately upon their arrival in India in order to identify themselves fully with the natives before they could be contaminated by too much association with their compatriots who have been missionaries in India for a long time and who have therefore formed definite views concerning the Hindus, neither complimentary nor helpful. It seemed to me that this Englishman himself constituted a model missionary; because he looked like Jesus; he learned and did things from the native viewpoint by sacrificing his British mode of living and lived and acted as Hindus.

There was at least one thing unsatisfactory to me. The Conference refused to allow a prominent British welfare worker * to come to the Conference, because they were afraid that her radical views would cause trouble. All agreed that she had a fine Christian spirit. This woman welfare worker sacrificed her rare ability to work among the poor and needy. I did not believe that she could hurt the Conference. Indeed her presence and her views would help the Conference to broaden its sphere of understanding. As it was, the delegates left the Conference with a little taste of dissatisfac-

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* Muriel Lester

tion, as they thought it was not broad enough to take into its midst all the works of Christianity.

> As an American delegate, who was also a Secretary of the American Board, bore testimony: "Again and again he made thoughtful and helpful comments. He even made one famous speech, at a time when there had been several tense moments when nationalism and a desire to be independent of the West had been given pretty free expression by certain of the delegates. Jimmy rose with his sunny smile to say: ' As for China, we need more missionaries and more missionaries- all kinds; and we like them even when they are not perfect.'"

I devoted two weeks of my time to a quick trip through the more important centers of interest in India. Chief of all was of course a visit to interview Mr. Gandhi at Warda. Before reaching Warda, one had to stop over at a small railway station to get ready to see the saint-like leader of the India non-resistance and non-cooperation movement against Great Britain. At this small railway station all the visitors had to have their meals in Indian fashion, eating with their fingers. It was the first time of my life that I had to eat with my fingers. As all did it, I had to conform to the local customs. When I came to give it a careful and an unbiased thought, I came to the conclusion that this way may be the most healthy way of eating, certainly the most convenient. We all had to wash our hands absolutely clean before we ate.

It is very remarkable that Gandhi, living in such a modest place, should be able to attract numbers of people of all walks of

life from all quarters of the globe. While we listened to his discourse, I looked around his living abode and calculated mentally that except for his books, the whole thing, including his mud cottage, could not be worth over sixty dollars. It was therefore that elusive and yet real personality, that sacrifice and devotion to hard and unselfish work for the interest and welfare of the country that appealed to the higher nature of men of all walks of life and attracted them to come to his humble quarters for advice and counsel. Rightly or wrongly however, I could not agree with his view that one should carry the doctrine of non-resistance to the very end. "What would you do if you found your own parents at the mercy of robbers who succeed in entering the last inner court of your house?", I asked him. "As for me, I could only resist in order to save my parents," I said. His reply was, "I would call the police." My parents would be long dead when the police arrived. In spite of our disagreement, I left his house, if it could be called a house, with the definite impression that I was fortunate to have talked with the greatest man on earth.

India is a large country. With the two weeks at my disposal I could hardly cover the whole country. I had only time to see the Taj Mahal, Delhi, Benares, Cawnpore, Calcutta, the Kanchegjunga Range in the Himalaya Mountains and a few other famous centers. The Taj Mahal is a very beautiful structure. Its fame in the world however seems to me is very much exaggerated. I did not dare to express my opinion until I met a couple of American tourists who were artists themselves, who held the same views as mine. The Kanchengjunga Range

seemed to me to be very lofty and mysterious. As I observed it from the Observation Pavillion on that 10,000 ft. high mountain where I stood, which was merely one of the foothills, I felt, as is probably felt by many others, as if there were hands stretching out from those lofty mountains beckoning me to forsake this troubled world and go to them for meditation and life's relief. In that pavillion I had time to meditate on the problems of India. Comparing China with India, China's problems seemed very small and easy to solve. The tremendous poverty, disease, famine, and ignorance in India are indeed most difficult for Nehru. They offer a fertile field for Communist penetration. With so many illiterates and the paramount ignorance and lack of unified culture, it will be many years before India can be ruled as one unified nation.

Currency Stabilization And Local Order

One of the very first things the Communists undertook was the stabilization of the currency. They mobilized all efforts including that of the students, first of all to drive silver dollar speculation off the streets and market. Then followed their persistent efforts to stabilize the paper currency for they thoroughly realized that their ability in maintaining local order and security, depended mainly upon a stable currency. To everybody's astonishment within three months time they stabilized the currency with their New People's notes. The ways they used were not greatly different from the measures formulated by the former regime. The difference lay in that when the

former regime promulgated such measures, the high authorities concerned immediately speculated. They became rich at the expense of others. Those ordered to carry out such measures were guilty of irregularity and bribery. They were ordered to wipe out the speculation market the next day. More than one hundred men were taken into custody the next morning by the police. By night fall only a few of the God-forsaken ones remained in jail. All the others were released, having been bailed out by their influential backers. There were no good results when the persons who executed the orders were involved in bribery. What could they do with the currency, depreciating by the hour, while their salaries remained stationary? In spite of the orders, that was why speculation went on and on, and the currency depreciated more and more.

Yet the Communists, three months after they liberated Shanghai, stabilized the currency with practically the same measures. Why? It must be due to the faithful execution of the orders from the higher ups. There was no graft nor any irregularities, no matter for what reason. Whether I approve the Communists or not, the stabilization of the currency, followed by the maintenence of local order has to be credited to them.

Due to the liberation of Shanghai, the exodus of foreigners began. Soon Shanghai became practically a fully Chinese city. The only authority was Chinese. Foreigners leaving the port had to have the permission of the Government. Foreigners were used to the lawlessness of Shanghai. It took quite sometime for them to

come to the realization that Shanghai was no longer the Paradise of Criminals and they must abide by Communist Chinese rules. When it comes to local order and health, credit must be given to the Communists. In taking over Shanghai, the public health measures at least continued to be good. Kidnapping and other annoying conditions injurious to local order ceased.

Russia-China

A few months later the Communists were able to capture the National Capital at Nanking, and the rest of continental China, largely with Mukden troops well trained by the former Japanese rules of Manchuria, equipped with arms not needed by and returned by the Russians. The Russians were willing to return them because they equipped the Chinese Communists, their comrades in arms. Previous to this, all diplomatic efforts with China were but mere gestures which meant nothing. Soviet Russia made a great gain in getting China into the Communist camp. China is contiguous to Russia. They have a common boundary of several thousand miles. Herafter any country in her deals with Russia will have to take China into consideration also, and vice versa. It is a great victory for the Communists.

This combination of Soviet Russia and China will practically furnish them with everything they need. It will be a combination almost unconquerable. The territory is so long and broad that

the enemies would find it very difficult to march from one to the other, even with no resistance whatever. This, therefore, is the reason why the eventual downfall of this combination will come from within, not without. National leaders, when they come to the pinnacle of power, will be willing to forego reputation, wealth, etc. but will contend for power to the very bitter end. When China no longer needs supples of many kinds from Soviet Russia and when the leader of one nation is weaker than the leader of the other, trouble will arise as to which should rule the camp, Moscow or Peking. There may be some disagreements between the two countries. Such, however, will not play an important part in tearing them apart. But the time will come when the question comes up as to who shall be the leader of the camp. The Chinese proverb says: "The sky can have only one sun; neither will the people have two kings." Soviet Russia needs China to strengthen greatly her Communist domain, and China needs Russia for the materials and machines greatly needed in building up her industries. When these two needs remain paramount, the two countries will try their hardest to live amicably with each other. Those outside the Communist camp cannot do anything to split it wide open. But the split will come, as sure as the sun, when their contention for power exceed these two needs.

Capitalism - Communism

Communism aims at the destruction of Capitalism. The Capitalists must change their way of thinking about the almighty dollar and bow

down to the might of the proletariat. The Communists instituted the "Three Down and Five Down Movement", which subdued all the business men of all walks of life and incidentally amassed such fortune from the defeated capitalists as to enable them to have a strong currency as well as build up heavy industries. All sorts of people took part in the movement. Some bad eggs received what they should have received. It was only justice. Many took the movement as a chance for vengeance. Many of the bankers and other industrialists committed suicide in order to escape the intolerable abuses and insults. They could not stand for the peeling off of the shirts they wore in front of underlings who watched the fun, and who demanded in some cases that they be their servants. In one case, the man concerned threw himself out of the window. Instead of going to his rescue, the chairman of the meeting forbade anyone to save the man. He said: "Because the man tried to intimidate the Government by committing suicide, he committed another crime. So no one should go to his help. Let him die!"

There were many others who did not have the nerve to commit suicide or whose religion enabled them to go through such trials. These, following a due period of study and self-examination went scot free after paying large sums of money which their Communist masters claimed they illegally got from the banks and industries. Not satisfied with the financial results, they went after the accountants of the business houses. In earlier times most of the accountants of the business houses were either friends or rela-

tives of the owners or the managers of these houses. Consequently they had intimate knowledge of their financial dealings and conditions. The order given by the Communist authorities was that they were free to tell anything they knew without fear of retribution. Even if what they had said eventually turned out to be untrue, they could be sure that they would not be held responsible. In this way the Communists were able to obtain large sums of money. There is no question but that their financial strength was very much increased. But how strong their financial position is today no one on the outside knows. People only know that paper notes alone are issued. As to how much has been issued, where the specie is and how much the Government possesses, the authorities do not say, and the outsiders do not know.

In one of our conversations I asked one assistant manager of the Peoples' Bank: "Why has there been no change in the official rate of the paper dollar?" "There would be too many complications, if such a change were made," was the reply. He knew well that the official rate is too low. The Government profits by the low rate but the people suffer. They were very clever in that they controlled the supply of rice, flour, oil, and other supplies for domestic needs. They would not allow the prices on such commodities to vacillate. If prices do not change, there cannot be apparent fluctuations in exchanges and depreciation. But the real financial strength only the "inner few" know. We only know that if some silver pieces or nickels were issued they would all disappear from the market.

The above mentioned controls concerned only the business world. Capitalists exist only in the business world. However, there are other organizations which volunteered to "clear up" their records. Among them was the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. The General Secretary married an American girl while he was a student in the U.S.A. One of the executive secretaries happened to be chairman of the Three Self Commission who, according to one of his lieutenants, at that time aspired to be the General Secretary of the National Committee. While nothing definite could be charged against the General Secretary, things became rather hot for him. In fact so hot that he was seriously thinking of resigning. The case became worse when his wife was charged with being in the secret pay of the American Government. The chairman of the Three Self Commission did not get what he wanted, nor did the General Secretary dare to resign because the Young Peoples' Social Organization was not in favor of his so doing. In fact the General Secretary grew so much in favor of the Young Peoples' Social Organization that sometimes he was elected to represent that organization in National Affairs. This state of affairs, coupled with the fact that the local city branches of the Y.M.C.A. all came under the control of the local municipal bureaus of Religious Affairs, resulted in the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. having nothing to do. That is why most of the important executive secretaries of the National Committee, including the General Secretary, received their pay from the

National Committee, while working in other Christian organizations.

When the Communists had taken Shanghai, they soon issued an order asking the people to report to the proper authorities the property they were holding for foreign friends. Disobedience to the order would subject the guilty person to proper punishment. I was holding and living in a house owned by a German friend. He had gone to Germany to see his parents. General Tang En-po's soldiers had looked over the house several times with the intention of occupying it. I promised to watch over the house but did not intend to live in it, because I was already living in a comfortable apartment. His maid telephoned me repeatedly about the soldiers and begged me to move without delay. The nice house would be spoiled if occupied by the soldiers. Although the German friends promised to return in three months, the three months had gone, and there had been no word from them. I left my good apartment and moved to that German house, much against my will. Hardly had a month passed when the Communists succeeded in taking all of Shanghai, and soon issued the above mentioned order. I ignored that order.

One day while seeing a friend's daughter out of the gate of the compound, the German's representative and two men from the police came to call on me. The German's representative murmured in English to the effect that they wanted to see me. Upon my return to the house I understood that they had already learned from the representative that the house belonged to the German. They

asked me how I got acquainted with the German. I told them an honest and straight story. It so happened that the police officer was Shantungese, so I had no difficulty with the language. He was very proper and sympathetic. He took the official paper of the house that I gave him without delay. I was not at all acquainted with the German's business operations and the officer believed me. After a neighbor who was willing, guaranteed me, we all went to police headquarters. When the case was transferred to the Court for final sentence, the Court asked me to look after the house pending its eventual disposal. It lasted more than a year. In passing the final sentence, the Court charged me with all sorts of crimes committed by the German, but declared me free. They wanted $50,000 from the German representative before he would be allowed to leave for Germany. After all, it was money that they were after. Finally the sum was paid and the German representative was allowed to return to Germany.

I always get suspicious when the term "people" is being widely employed. After the Boxer Movement, suddenly the term "patriotism" began to pop up everywhere. We even found the newly manufactured cloth marked "patriotic cloth" being sold in the stores! When the Communists claimed that they had liberated China, the term "people" began to be widely used. The country is called the "People's Republic". The only national bank is called the "People's Bank". The official organ of the Communists is named "Central People's Daily News". Hospitals are named according to the order by being called, "_____ People's Hospital."

Almost daily reminders and urgings have been issued calling for the Party members to work in close cooperation with "the People". It is the fundamental thing to discuss matters with "the People" and to get their support and cooperation. It is essential that this be done.

But do the Party members do so? They do not. The Communists Government is primarily an absolute dictatorship. Things are done by orders, by written words. Leaders' meetings read papers issued to them by their superiors. I personally attended many meetings whose chairman merely came out to read such papers. They did not care whether the hearts of the audience were touched or not. They read precisely what they were ordered to. By so doing there could not be any mistake by which they might be criticized. What do the people think, what do they wish to know and to do? They were there to listen, not to be heard. In fact, the people did not count.

The distance between the Government and the people grows daily wider and wider. That is why the Commune system has not been successful. The people consider it something they were ordered to do, without their previous knowledge and understanding. The people wished to consider it something of their own, and if it were, they would happily join. But they were ordered to join and so had to suppress their own selves. The Communists claim that their system provides ample liberty and freedom. But the people find, after joining the Communes, that they have no liverty and freedom. You

must do as you are told to do. I was asked to vote for people whom I had never seen or heard. Even while voting I was closely watched to see that I did not vote new names.

One of the things they do is to pretend to champion the cause of righting some evil in which they happen not to be involved. For example, they champion non-colonialism, they champion freedom, they champion the destruction of imperialism. They are with the colored people in the U.S.A. But the Communist State is a one hundred percent dictatorship in which there is no freedom and liberty. They claim loudly that there is universal freedom. They claim that they are absolutely free from slavery. That was a game played by the former Czarist Regime. They aim at seeing people free from colonialism. It is true that Russia today does not have colonies. Her territory is so large and contiguous that it is more than a colonial empire. She practices no imperialism in the exact sense of the word, but such a state as Hungary lives under a yoke more cruel than imperialism. Russia is lucky in that she does not have the colored people's problems. However she was more imperialistic than all the other powers in the Czarist days. I doubt very much whether, except for pure propaganda purposes and the dire need to help reach her aim of world domination, she would befriend the weak or the small countries. However, she is clever in arbitrarily coming out as the champion for the weak and the small. When need be, she will readily withdraw her championship.

She loudly proclaims to the world that she is for disarmament. But when she is pressed hard for an agreement on disarmament, by

all sorts of excuses she tries to wiggle out. She was for a Summit Conference, but she wiggled out of it by making the U-2 incident a principal excuse. The fact was that she found out that she could not get from the group headed by Eisenhower what she wanted. So she decamped. Moscow has already set her sights to dominate the world with Communism. Short of that she will not play. When the time comes and she finds that even Communism is not accomplishing her aims, she will throw that overboard too. Whether she can realize her aim or not remains to be seen. Personally, I do not believe she can.

Y.M.C.A.

Although I have never been a secretary in the regular Y.M.C.A. all my life I have not been very far from the Y.M.C.A. movement in China. It is an old story now, but many young Christians were attracted to the "Y" - first because of its spirit of democracy. I was first attracted by the democratic spirit of the secretary in charge of the Army and Navy Y.M.C.A. at the American Legation in Peking. At that time our foreign missionary teachers never shook hands with us, which we considered as a sign of their unwillingness to treat us as their equals, although if need be they were willing to make personal sacrifices for us.

I used to go to the "Y" whenever I was in Peking. The secretary always treated me as a friend. I could have ice cream and play billiards. It was the "Y" secretaries who shook hands with us and

strolled with us in between the summer conference meetings. By such actions the "Y" secretaries, who at that time were mostly foreigners, convinced us that they were willing to treat us as their equals and friends. Another point of special merit of the "Y" was the initiation in paying their Chinese associates adequate salaries to meet their domestic needs. In a word, they paid much higher salaries. Through this treatment they were able to secure the services of rather able and attractive local leaders to be associated with them in Christian service through the Y.M.C.A. A third point, the last but certainly not the least, was their goal of making their Chinese associates the leaders of the "Y" as they proved their capacity to serve. Through these three policies, the "Y" movement prospered in China almost from its inception. It was able to secure land by local support for the "Y" and its Chinese personnel. By making it from the start a locally self-supporting Christian organization, the movement could not but prosper in China. Previous to the establishment of the City "Y" there were already established several student Y.M.C.A.'s in several colleges and universities. My father was the first president of the oldest student Y.M.C.A. in China, followed by three of his four sons not many years later.

It is however sad to relate that at the present time the "Y" is but a shadow of the past. It is more or less under the Government through the organization of the People's Youth League, of which the "Y" made a serious mistake by becoming a member. This league is but one of many organizations by the Government to control private

associations. Members of the League have to do the bidding of the Government, and the Government carries out its social program through its members. The Government has not yet entirely absorbed the "Y" because there are still certain things that can best be done by the "Y". But whatever the Government wishes to be done, the "Y" must do. The Government is but an instrument of the Party, so the "Y" now in China is greatly utilized by the Party. The Party does not believe in religion, so it does not encourage the "Y" in its Christian program. In the future if the Party through its executive instrument, that is, the Government, allows the "Y" to exist, the "Y" will be a Y.M.A. . instead of the Y.M.C.A.

When the Chinese Labor Y.M.C.A. in France was being repatriated, a wire came from the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A.'s in China, inviting me to return to head up the new Industrial Department of the National Committee of the Y.M.C.A. In order to qualify me further for this new work in China, I went to the United States for a month to inspect and study the Industrial Y.M.C.A. and to work in the mining districts of West Virginia. After this study and when I was about to embark on my return to France, I suddenly recalled that I was not a very good sailor. At Christmas time the Atlantic Ocean was bound to be quite rough which would make it unpleasant for me. Believing, however, that seasickness in my case was in the main a psychological matter, I thought to myself that if I could somehow take my mind off the actual sailing of the ship, perhaps I would not be sick. So I bought a few detective books. I took energetic exer-

cises on board of the steamer after and before every meal, and after each such exercise, I would lie down in my deck chair and begin to read the detective stories that I had purchased. In this way I was able to retain all that I had eaten on board and did not get seasick at all!

The French ship docked in Bordeaux. I soon got into trouble with the custom inspector. As my trip to the U.S.A. took place only one year after my marriage, I had not fully provided for a home. During my study of the industrial Y.M.C.A. work in West Virginia, I purchased a number of sheets for the beds. Without giving the matter careful consideration, I stuffed the sheets into any place that could hold them in my trunks and suit cases. The number of sheets seemed to attract the attention of the inspector. At first he pretended to be very angry with me for not declaring the same for duty. After learning the nature of my work in France, he allowed me to go free but warned me not to do so again.

Internecine Warfare

Between the years of 1921 and 1937 there was constant internecine warfare in the country. Perhaps it would suffice just to mention General Chang of Mukden on the one hand and Generals Wu and Feng on the other. General Wu was the man behind the gun in the Peking National Government and General Feng was his chief lieutenant. General Chang was the undisputed war lord of Manchuria. Politicians on both sides stirred up trouble between the two sides

resulting in contention for national power by the two chief war lords. In the fighting, General Wu led a part of the army to participate in the fighting at Shanhaikwan, and dispatched General Feng to attack General Chang's men in the North. At the height of the fighting General Feng turned his men back toward Peking and unexpectedly attacked General Wu's men from the rear. Because of this trick General Wu was defeated and had to flee for his life toward Szechuan Province. Much could be said against these warlords but at least one thing could be said for General Wu; he never entered the foreign concessions to conceal himself while waiting for a favorable opportunity to rise again, as did other generals and politicians. After several attempts at restoring his prestige, he eventually failed to return to his former glories. Finally he returned to Peking and died soon after the Japanese captured that city. Some said he died of an infection, and some said that he died by Japanese intrigue.

On account of General Feng's conspiracy General Chang of Mukden was able to turn defeat into victory and took Peking, thus becoming the warlord in power. Naturally no one would believe in the faithfulness of such a man as General Feng-yu-hsiang, who had to retreat toward Kalgan, further to the North. General Feng at first was called the "Christian General" because at the beginning of his military career he had the idea that such a name would impress his men and enable him to gain the support of the foreigners. Most of the warlords at that time were anxious to court the favor of foreigners. General Feng had his men baptized wholesale. Hence the name of "Christian"

for his men and himself. I was then still working in the U.S.A. In one of my travels I met an old friend who was in the U.S.A. as a delegate to a Methodist Convention. In our first conversation he immediately mentioned General Feng and was very anxious to propagandize for him. Later on the General changed his colors several times. He was a Christian, Communist, and Kuomingtang alternately. Finally he was killed on a steamer on his way to Russia. Some say that he was murdered by Russian agents, although the newspaper reported that he was killed in a fire while seeing a movie aboard ship. He also turned his back on Communism when he found that it was not the thing he wanted. So at least it can be said that he reversed the fire of the Russian Communists after receiving a lot of material assistance from that source. This gave much credence to the story of his death.

This constant warfare between the different warlords contending for power was the chief source of the national disturbances in China. When General Yuan Shih Kai (before 1916) set up this warlord system, his aim was that in so doing he would be the chief beneficiary as President of the newly established Republic of China. He probably did not see that it would grow to be the bane of the country, finally resulting in the total absorption of the whole country by the Communists.

The Soviet Russians succeeded in ~~the Chinese~~ their Revolution of 1917. One of the first things they did was to announce to China the return to China of every illegitimate gain of rights and privileges and territories gained by the Czarist regime. It was a high sound-

ing announcement, heartily welcomed by the Chinese. But did the Soviet Russians actually do it? No! The Chinese Eastern Railway to which we Chinese paid our main attention not only was not returned to China, but the Communists tried their hardest to take it from the White Russians who gathered in North Manchuria when Russia Proper became too hot for them. When I was connected with that Railway, all along the railway stations were crowded with White Russians.

Those White Russians were used to high positions and luxury and got preferred treatment on the railway. For instance, one of the high officials in the Czarist regime was serving as head of the Land Department of the Railway. The former Chief of the Czarist Guards was serving as the chief of the Physical Training of the Educational Department of the Railway. One of the high generals in the Czar's Guards was the Chief Steward of the Director General's private car on the Railway. Most of the positions held were more or less sinecures. The fights and intrigues to gain control of the Railway were fierce. For instance, on one of my tours as the Chinese Chief, to inspect the railway schools, at one station the Russian Chief was driven out of the school by the teachers, most of whom had become Communists. The Russian Chief had to run to me for protection.

When the Japanese gained control of North Manchuria in 1932, Soviet Russians sold their share of the Railway to the Japanese. They never intended to return to China anything they illegally wrested from China, unless China become a Communist State under

the Soviet Russian domination. It is true that since then they have negotiated several treaties with the Chinese representatives. These were only diplomatic gestures. They did not go into the facts because the Soviets never intended to make the terms factual. China then was neither a Communistic State nor directly under Soviet domination.

House For Retirement

The Chinese Church at Haitien, in the western suburb of Peking, just south of Yenching University, owned a plot of land in the highest area of the town. It was rented to a man who turned it into a vegetable garden, because the Church did not need it when it purchased the land and the adjacent houses. I offered to buy it and build a house on it to be for my retirement. I looked toward the future then with a pair of rosy spectacles. At that time I rather anticipated that in time I would retire from the bank with its regular allowance for retirement, which would be ample enough for my wife and myself in a small, simple, but comfortable house, overlooking the magnificent Western Hills and the Summer Palace. The house with its small swimming pool and tennis court was rented out to different parties, including the famed correspondent and author, Edgar Snow, in the hope that in my later days I would occupy it myself to the end of my days.

But that was not to be. When the house was built, I did not have in mind the coming of the Communists. The map of China was

totally changed when the Communists "liberated" Peking and later, China. I had to dispose of it when the bank mortgage was due as I did not have either the money to pay the mortgage nor did I need the house. I was in Shanghai and never expected to return to North China. My children could not afford to own such a house. It was really very lucky for me to dispose of that house then, as it would inevitably fall into the hands of the Communist agents someday. The Communists would not allow private ownership of houses. Before taking it over I would have been required to buy a thousand dollars worth of national bonds for which I had no money. Instead of an asset for my old age, it would have become a liability too heavy for me to carry. It was one of the lucky things I did. I disposed of the house before the arrival of the Communists. At the time, however, only the payment of the mortgage in mind did I have, but friends said that I had a great deal of foresight!

The Struggle For The Far East

Japan long had designs on China. Under the pretense that a large growing population demands a larger territory to feed them, she planned to expand her domain. The logical territory was Manchuria, adjacent to Korea which was already in her hands. Manchuria is a large territory with great areas of land very sparsely populated. Unfortunately the place belonged to China and the population was Chinese. So Japan manufactured an excuse and created that

famous September 18th incident near Mukden. Due to the weakness of the Chinese Government, Japan invaded Manchuria and in a surprisingly brief period succeeded in bringing that large territory into her domain. She called that newly gained territory Manchukuo in order to fool other foreigners into thinking that she had no evil designs. She said she only wished to help to restore the old Ts'ing dynasty which the Kuomingtang tried to destroy. Manchukuo was simply a puppet show and in reality Manchukuo became a part of Japan. Japanese industries and immigrants began to pour into Manchukuo in large numbers.

At this juncture Soviet Russia sold her interests in the Chinese Eastern Railway to Japan. It was another case of Soviet Russian duplicity in the Far East. Unable to resist Japanese illegitimate penetration into China, Russia brought the Manchurian case to the attention of the League of Nations which sent Lord Lytton's Commission to study the situation. When the Commission returned to Peking after its study on the spot in Manchuria, it wished to have a conference with the Manchurian nobility in Peking to learn their views regarding the problem. I was invited to be the official interpreter of the Manchu and Mongolian Nobles present. Knowing in advance that the conference would come to nothing, excepting that it would attract a good deal of unsavory notoriety, the most enlightened Princes did not appear.

The Nobility present expressed their unanimous opinion in

favor of China. It is true that they were influenced by the Young Marshall Chang Hsueh-liang, who, however, was living in Peking, leaving Manchuria wide open to the Japanese. Lord Lytton's Commission was not able to do anything to help to fend off the Japanese invasion plans, excepting to render an official report to the League of Nations. But had Great Britain acceded to the U.S.A.'s suggestion that the two countries jointly take action to curb Japan in the Far East, there might have been a totally different story to tell in the history of the modern world. The U.S.A. was unwilling to undertake the task alone. Thus Japan was given further encouragement to carry out her military designs in the Far East, designs which gradually developed into her part in the Second World War. The aftermath ushered in the new imperialistic designs of Communism and of Soviet Russia. So we have to write a different chapter of world history.

There are two nations in the world who cannot be nailed down, the Germans and the Japanese. The Germans have already recovered their former economic position in the world. Japan, with American aid, is also rapidly restoring her pre-war position in the world's economics. China and Japan are natural neighbors and it goes without saying that they should be in close cooperation in the development of their countries. It is unfortunate that they belonged to two political camps, diametrically opposed to each other. How long this unfortunate situation in the Far East will last, only time will tell. China plans to work through the Communists and Leftists in

Japan for the establishment of a Communist State. The less radical elements in Japan wish to work out her salvation by means of her own efforts with possible American aid.

While it is true that the Japanese Communists intend to further the Communists' plans for world domination, it is equally true that other Japanese desire to build a new Japanese Empire. The struggle of these two camps inside of Japan tend further to divide the country. Which will win only the future will tell. Me Meanwhile this situation is totally unfovorable to Japan and Red China and Soviet Russia. In the future there will be a struggle for power in the Far East between Red China, Japan, and the U.S.A. Who will be the mistress of the Pacific Ocean? It will not be easy for the U.S.A. to rest so long as she is not sure of the security of her possessions in the Far East, her friends in the Philippines and her states of Hawaii and Alaska. Japan and China believe that owing to their geographic positions in the Far East Side of the Pacific, they should be the mistresses of the Pacific area. This is at the bottom of the very uneasy situation in the Far East. What will be the outcome only God knows.

I came away from India with the impression that India, situated as she is both grographically and politically, must remain neutral on the stage of world politics. She is willing to befriend China but not at the expense of loss of her territory or her political independence. She has just pulled herself out from under the rule of British imperialism and she cannot afford to

become the underling of another power. On the other hand, China, while she may not have the ambition to lord it over all the Eastern nations, certainly desires to have all nations pay due attention to all her words. India may harbor the intention to control the Indian Ocean; Japan may desire to control the Japan Sea and the surrounding parts of the Pacific. Red China wishes to be the mistress of the entire Far East. The interests of these three strong nations in the Far East will sooner or later clash, unless one or two of them can be satisfied with a limited ambition. This is why many people think nowadays that the center of world politics will gradually evolve toward the Far East. The deciding factor will be the attitudes of these three nations.

The apparent struggle is between the U.S.A. and China facing each other across the Pacific. After the diplomatic settlement of this struggle, peace will come in the Far East, but the various serious troubles in Africa must also be faced. In a word, unless the leading powers of the world are willing to settle all unjust problems on an equal footing, there cannot be world peace.

However, world peace is also predicted on what Communists do in the future. The domination of the world by the Communists continues to be their goal since the Russian Revolution in 1917. Also since 1917, Communism has spread to a few of the satellite countries including Red China in the Far East. China is bending every effort to defeat the U.S.A. for she believes the U.S.A. to be the strongest of all capitalistic countries. If the U.S.A. can be de-

feated, all other capitalistic countries will capitulate. Some believe in the earnestness of Soviet Russia's efforts in working for world peace. Some believe that she is using that as a means to the end of world domination by Communism. The next few years probably will see what the truth is. If Russia means what she says, world peace may be in sight. If she uses world peace as a tool, world peace will be far distant. Anyway there cannot be peace unless all nations, big and little, are willing to share with one another the wealth that each possesses.

Study - Study - Study

In the tram cars or in any public conveyance the remarks one frequently hears relate to the attendance at meetings. The Communists are very fond of holding meetings. Meetings for this or meetings for that. So many meetings are held that many people pride themselves on being present at meetings, while others take it as a joke. I have seen at meetings people taking long naps or conversing. No one knows what the speaker is talking about. Yet the meetings usually last for not less than four to five hours. One often wonders how the speaker had so much to say. Many of the meetings were a mere duplication of other meetings because the speaker spoke on the same topic and the speeches were exactly the same.

If Mao-Tse-tung delivers one speech, the same has to be transmitted down to all layers of society. Everyone must hear it through

the speakers who act as parrots to read a copy of what was handed to him. Often times all the different offices concerned are anxious to be the first to deliver the speech. As a result one often hears the same speech at different meetings. What is said at these meetings is often studied by the audience, divided into study groups. It does not matter if the points contained in the speech mean anything to the people or not. They must be studied according to rule. After the study, representatives elected by the different groups make reports of the same thing.

Sometimes speeches delivered by highly important officials contain matters concerning urgent and important national affairs which all the people should know. It is then useful to hold study meetings. But often it is the habit to hold study meetings, whether the speeches are important or not. People are so tired of attending meetings that they decline to behave themselves properly. Their bodies are in attendance but their minds are far away thinking about something else. Too many such study meetings have grown to be a nuisance. They feel they learn much more by reading the daily newspapers, in which accounts are given in clearer and more definite form. But speeches by responsible men must be made known to all, and therefore such meetings must be held. So such study meetings are held for both the high and low, irrespective of whether they are concerned or not.

Hong Kong 1950

In 1950 the commercial banks in Red China were still free to operate. Our bank sent me to Hong Kong for some investigations. One day while I was working, the bank's servant came to inform me that a Mr. Chou was waiting to see me in the Manager's room. It was Dr. Tsur, formerly the president of Tsinghua College, and more recently the Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Nanking Government. Ever since the National Government had removed to Formosa, he had been living in retirement in Hong Kong. He wished to return to Red China and wanted to return with me, an old friend. We started our trip via Macao only a few miles away by sea. It seemed that Macao, the Portugese colony wrested from China about four hundred years ago, might be taken back by China. We wanted to see Macao as it was. We sailed for Macao by a steamer owned and operated by the Kincheng Banking Corporation. The ship's manager informed me before leaving Hong Kong that everything was arranged and we could get off the ship as soon as she docked in Macao. So when we reached the dock in Macao, I went out to call a taxi to take us to the hotel. I waited for some time, but our friends, the Tsurs, did not appear. I returned to the dock and to my surprise, found the custom inspectors minutely going through the Tsur's luggage. The chief steward told me they insisted on doing that, although it was not necessary. If they were paid ten dollars they would stop the unnecessary inspection. I agreed to the payment; immediately the inspectors closed all the

luggage without further inspection. It proved the truth that money talks in all phases of life in Macao.

This leads me to say a few words concerning my experience in entering Hong Kong from Sheng Chen. I had a letter of recommendation from the British Consulate through the kindness of the Canadian Commercial Attache in Shanghai. I was foolish in not having it with me when I started on my trip. The Manager of our Canton Branch had assured me that it was very easy to enter Hong Kong with his help. The conditions were so changed at the border that I was not allowed to enter even with the proper credentials from the British Consulate-General in Shanghai. I had to spend the night in a temporary structure erected over a pond full of filth and mosquitoes. I survived the night. A correspondent of a leading newspaper in Hong Kong came over to help me go across without any difficulty. Someone introduced me to the China Travel Service which in turn introduced me to an underground party, who undertook to take me across. He did not take me across the bridge as he orginally promised, but instead took me by devious ways across the small river by way of a downward path. We were immediately confronted by a group of inspectors despatched by the Hong Kong Police to stop and arrest those who stole across the river that way. However the man waved me to go to the train near by, and said he would handle that group. I asked him about what he did when he finally appeared on the train. He said that money is the most effective way in dealing with travellers.

On the train, before starting, a group of ruffians came to me

howling in Cantonese. I did not understand. But by their threatening attitude I guessed that they wanted money, for they knew that I had stolen across. Without my giving them money, they would report me for arrest by the authorities. I gave them ten dollars in order to stop the commotion. A man came to sit with me when the train had started and returned me that ten dollars, saying that they had no business getting money from me. It seemed that they were all in the same group. To my surprise he asked me for help when the train pulled into the station at Kowloon. He said that he had no credentials that entitled him to be in the British Territory. I would have to say that he was my personal servant. He returned to Sheng Chen after seeing me well settled in the hotel. He left with a slip of paper given to me at Sheng Chen in order to claim his share of the money that I gave to the party introduced to my be the China Travel Service. Money talks all along the way. The truth of the Chinese proverb was demonstrated: "With money one can travel all the world over; without money one cannot travel a single step." Another proverb: "With money one can even induce the Devil to turn and grind for you." This trip proves that with money one can induce the foreign devils to grind for you. But it was not possible to secure sleeping accomodations on the train even with special help! So we returned to Shanghai second class, sitting up those two nights and three days. Somehow I survived the long tiresome journey. I turned the Tsurs over to his daughter when the train reached

Shanghai and I returned home. Here he received honorary treatment from the Communist authorities but did not live long enough to suffer the ill consequences.

I was often asked why the Communists did not demand the return of Macao and Hong Kong, if they claim that they wanted to do away completely with imperialism. My answer was: With those two places in foreign hands, they are able to import anything they need. And they can also secure much foreign exchange. If these places were in their own hands, all such channels would be closed, very much to their disadvantage. The demands for take over will come very vigorously when those places become more profitable, if under their own control.

Retirement - Retirement

In 1951 in the spring, I retired from the Kincheng Banking Corporation. According to the rules of the Bank governing retirement, I retired with a certain percent of my current salary. Since the Communists assumed power in 1949, the salaries of the higher officers of the Bank had been greatly reduced, so my retirement allowance was not at all large, slightly over one hundred dollars per month. When the Communist established the State-Private Bank late in the year of 1951, they issued an official notice to the effect that those who retired according to the old plan would still receive their monthly allowances. There would

be no change. Yet a few months later, two men from the State-Private Bank in Peking stated that at a recent meeting of the Board of Directors of the Bank, the following resolution was passed: "The present staff of the Bank frequently complain that those who are retired, who do not work, should not receive more then we who are at work." Together with other retired members of the commercial banks, recently taken over by the State-Private Bank, my monthly retirement allowance was reduced by about fifty percent, leaving an amount slightly more than sixty dollars. The two men pressed me for an opinion about the resolution of the Board. At first I declined and said that I would work out my own difficulties. Pressed hard for an expression, I finally said that the Board's resolution was wholly unsound for the Bank's staff, and we who have retired belong to two entirely different categories. They receive their monthly salaries for service rendered; the retired men receive their monthly allowance for service rendered in the past. It is totally wrong to consider us in the same category. If we belong to the same category, we should not be paid at all because we do not work. No work, no pay. The Board did not have the nerve to state the real reason for this cut: the real reason being that some commercial banks, because of poor loans, did not have money to cover the shares which they were supposed to possess, and it would not do to have such commercial banks in this State-Private Bank combine.

Faced with this hard and embarrassing situation the easiest way out was to reduce the allowances paid to retired personnel who were widely scattered and could not protest effectively as a body.

As Red China does not allow its currency to come out of China, one has to find his own way of support outside of China. If he has not that support, ill fortune will dog his footsteps all the way. I am fortunate in that I have a few children working abroad. They earn monthly income enough to support themselves and us. When they were sent abroad to study, I did not have any idea that someday I should need their support.

The Red China currency has not depreciated because the Red Chinese have been able to control prices. But it is not in use abroad. There is no quotation. In Hong Kong, however, there is a rate quoted very much lower than the People's Dollar. This clearly shows that the People's Dollar has greatly depreciated, and probably that is why they do not dare to change the official rate. Besides, they make quite a good deal of money on the foreign exchange that the overseas Chinese remit yearly to their close relatives who must be supported. However, there is a good deal of doubt as to what bullion support Red Chinese have for their currency. So far there has been no report of any kind given out by the Red Chinese.

Free Criticism Movement

The Red Chinese, stirred by the many criticisms of their

Government, staged a nation-wide movement allowing all the people freely to criticize every phase of the Government and every official. There would be no punishment of any kind if the criticism were well founded. However it turned out to be a gigantic trick of the Party to discover those who were not satisfied with the Government.

Great Righteousness To Stamp Out Parents

Probably the most radical and heartless procedure on the part of the Chinese Communists is their effort to induce children to denounce publically their parents for what they have done or said at home. In taking over Yenching University, the Peking Communist authorities knew that before they could hand it over to Peking University, which was under the control of the Central Government, some Chinese person had to be the current head of that institution of higher learning. The most effective charge against him would be laudable if it came from his own children. So through their agents at the University they began working on the President's daughter, who had just entered the University as a freshman. At first she strongly resented accusing her father in public. When the Communist agents succeeded in convincing her that the interest of the Nation far outweighed the interest of a household, she yielded to their argument and accused her father from the University platform of some inconsequential matter, but which the Communists twisted into seemingly substantial charges.

He was charged with being in the secret service of a foreign government and therefore Yenching University was confiscated and handed over to the Government-controlled Peking University. To indicate that there was really nothing in the charges against him, he was given a post in the Nation's most important institution, a Science Society, (Academica Sinica?) a post which he liked because the Society's work used to be his avocation. If the charges were true, he would have been shot.

Young folks are easily influenced, particularly along patriotic lines. The Communists frequently used children against their fathers, finding this method the most convincing. Many children have been overwhelmed by their argument that the interests of the Nation far outweigh the interests of the home or the individual. Many homes have been broken up and some of the individuals concerned have committed suicide. For what can be more convincing than the accusations of a son or a daughter against their parents? But is it not also convincing to say that children may possibly accuse their parents because of some chance remarks of no particular value made over the dining table? The authorities can twist the accusation into something to suit their purpose. It is a fact that they could suspect without fear of punishment if found to be untrue.

Why I Left China

Many friends asked me how I got my exit permit to leave China for Hong Kong. I do not know. Maybe it was because in 1957 I went

to Hong Kong, and after the three months allowed, I returned to Shanghai. I had to return to Shanghai because the Hong Kong Immigration Office knew how long the exit permit was good for and they also knew where I was. When the time was up, if I had not left, the Immigration Office would have extradited me. Perhaps it was due to old age when one could not do any mischief and he could not be useful in any way to the Communists! But there are many old folks who could not obtain their exit permits, although they repeatedly applied for the same.

However, before granting me the exit permit, the police officers went around to the houses where I had previously lived and carefully inquired as to why I moved and whether I was a good tenant. Evidently the reports were all in my favor. During the previous ten years I had had no difficulties with the police. That does not mean that quietly they did not try to get something on me. They drew my maid into some kind of a secret committee which met once every two weeks to report to the police chairman what had been going on in my household. I guess that the maid, in order to protect herself, might have manufactured some unfavorable stories about me, and then I would have been in trouble. There was no point to remaining in a country without peace and freedom. So with the exit permit, my wife and I left for Hong Kong.

Originally we planned to end our days in Hong Kong. At first I refused to come to the United States on the ground that it would increase the economic burden of our children who are

working in the U.S.A. But when my twin daughters assured me that we would surely lighten their economic burden by living in the United States, I began to give the matter serious consideration. By that time we had to rely on our children, for the Communists would not allow People Bank notes to be taken from the country. At that time we were already settled in our minds that we would not live in China as long as it is under Red rule. For the reasons that I have already enumerated, we could not live in China under the Red yoke. In a word, "We are not birds of the same feather, therefore we could not flock together." Ten years ought to be enough for us to find out the true color of the Communists. But the United States is not an ideal country in which to end our days. She has her faults also. However, after long and careful consideration, I came to the conclusion that the United States is the country that I know best. My wife also knows it well. So here we are. Compared with Russia, the United States is better, for I can enjoy peace and liberty here.

People often wonder and ask why China does not take back Hong Kong, since she even took over the Hong Kong and Shanghai Banking Corporation in Shanghai. Hong Kong is certainly a glaring example of foreign imperialism in the Far East. However the fact is that with Hong Kong in British hands, she is more useful to Red China. If China took over Hong Kong now, she would be strangling herself as far as a large amount of foreign trade and remittances are concerned. And China needs both tremendously. Foreign remittances are turned

into Hong Kong currency and then remitted to Red China. Hong Kong is thus very useful to Red China for such transactions could not be done with Hong Kong in China's hands.

Besides, Hong Kong is the main listening post for important news concerning China. There have been no diplomatic relations between Red China and the United States. Recently Red China declined to allow American correspondents to enter China. Yet it is quite essential for the United States to know what is going on there. Much of the news has come via Hong Kong where Red China had several pink newspapers in addition to her own news service, the Hsing Hua News Service. In addition, Great Britain has recognized Red China and she also maintains normal diplomatic relations with the United States. Red Chinese agents operate freely in Hong Kong so that they can carry on much propaganda which reaches the United States and other countries. Red China is not in the United Nations, but she is in close touch with many nations by means of visiting delegations. These delegations all go to China. There are also many ways that those who are willing can carry out their wishes via Hong Kong. Once Hong Kong goes back to Red China, many of these channels will be closed to both Hong Kong and Red China. While it does not make much difference to Great Britain, though she will have lost one of her rich colonies, it does make a lot of difference to China, for China would be deprived of very important connections with the outside world. When this special usefulness is gone, people will see that there will be a howl for the return

of Hong Kong to China, especially if Great Britain does something which is not to China's liking.

My wife and I visited Hong Kong in 1957 to see our second daughter's family. Her husband is with the United Nations. I returned to Shanghai via Hankow in order to see the newly completed Hankow-Wuchang Bridge, which was very widely advertised as one of the great material accomplishments of the Communists. We had to go back to our home in Shanghai by the Yangtse steamer which my wife had never taken. It is a very comfortable voyage and I never like to miss it. The Bridge is considered quite an undertaking. The Nanking and other previous governments talked a good deal about building it but they never did it. The Communists, with the assistance of Russian technicians, built it in 1956, thus linking the Peking-Hankow Railway and the Canton-Hankow Railway. If one takes railways in other countries, it may be said that it is the longest railway in the world, because by taking the train at Canton one can travel all the way to Lisbon, Portugal, via Moscow, Berlin, Paris, and Madrid.

Certainly it is not the longest nor the greatest railway engineering undertaking in the world. But it is quite an engineering undertaking in China under the present circumstances. It is the most strategic railway in China, as one can travel from the southernmost port of Canton to the northernmost city of Manchuli in North Manchuria. It is also a great local convenience, as

people no longer have to take the small sanpans to cross the wide Yangtse River. In a few minutes they can leisurely and safely walk across the bridge. Professor Paul Kwei met us in the hotel and entertained us with a Russian repast. Leisurely we sailed down the Yang-Tse. Three days later we arrived safely at our home in Shanghai, where our youngest son and his wife welcomed us at the dock.

FINAL NOTE BY THE EDITOR

Twice after the Communists secured control of the country Jimmy obtained permission to visit Hong Kong. The first time was in 1950, on business for the Bank. The second time, in the late summer of 1959, he was accompanied by Mrs. Ch'üan. Upon the urging of their six children, already established in the United States and supplying part of the living expenses of their parents, they decided not to return, even though not to do so might result in added inconvenience if not some temporary hardship for the remaining member of the family, Jimmy Junior, a practicing dentist in Shanghai.

Jimmy was no longer well. He knew, and his intimate friends knew, that he had within him the beginning of the cancer that would ultimately be his death. But it hampered his enjoyment of living only moderately; he had many old friends in Hong Kong - had made many more during the months of their sojourn there, and there was the assurance of medical and surgical facilities in the United States surpassing any available in China. So after a stay in the British Colony of about six months they came on to Berkeley, California, the home of their lawyer son, Victor. While there Jimmy underwent an operation that brought considerable relief. During the next two years, as his niece, Mrs. Keng-ying Ma who lives in Ann Arbor, Michigan, puts it, "they travelled a lot to visit all his friends, particularly old college friends. In early 1962 they recrossed the contenent slowly and visited Victor again." By this time Jimmy was beginning "to feel real bad," and his four daughters were convinced they could be of more help to him if he was near them in the East, where each held a responsible position.

So back they came to the home of Dorothy, in Scarsdale, N.Y. There he underwent the final stages of his illness - but comparatively free from pain, and died in the White Plains Hospital on April 15, 1962. The funeral followed three days later in the Ferncliff Funeral Hine in Hartsdale, New York.

As was so briefly yet so eloquently stated of Barnabas, one of the great figures of the early Apostolic Age, "He was a good man."

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A few more words should be added. In his autobiography Jimmy makes few references to his family. Even Mrs. Ch'üan is for the most part a silent partner in the varied career described by her husband in the preceeding pages. But brief mention of what each member of the family was doing as this record closed at the end of the winter of 1972 makes clear that the raising of such a family was no ordinary achievement.

Mrs. Ch'üan is living at Pilgrim Place, Claremont, California, a retirement center established by the United Church of Christ primarily for the families of ministers and missionaries of that denomination, but open to a few of other denominations when accomodations are available. Mrs. Ch'üan was, in fact, the first person admitted who had been as a layman, identified in so many ways with the Christian movement in China.

Victor, the oldest child, after graduating from Carleton College, won an M.A. from Cornell, and is a member of the faculty of the University of California at Berkeley, in the School of Law, the Department of Continuing Education.

Victoria, (Mrs. An-fu Wei) is professor of music at the Shanghai Musical Conservatory. After a musical major at Yenching University she won a Master's at the University of Michigan in 1953, and for a time was a student working for a Ph.D. in Columbia University.

Dorothy, (Mrs. Booker Lee), after winning an M.A. in nutrition at Cornell, is a dietician on the staff of General Foods. Mr. Lee is on the staff of the United Nations. (Their daughter, Victoria, after two years at Vassar, transferred to Yale and was one of the first girls to graduate from Yale College, with a major in Philosophy.) The Lees live in Scarsdale, N.Y.

Marian and Helen are twins. The former graduated from Winthrop College and lives in Lexington, Mass., where she is a psychiatric social worker in the Concord School District. Helen, also a Winthrop graduate, holds a Master's degree from the Yale School of Nursing and is Professor of Nursing at the Connecticut State College in New Haven.

Lydia, who graduated from Carleton as did both her mother and brother Victor, is Mrs. Jonathan Lee, a housewife and mother of three, living in New York City, New York. Mr. Lee is an accountant working in New York City.

James Junior completed his education in China under the Communists. He is now in San Francisco and since he is not yet qualified to practice dentistry in the United States, is working with the Union Oil Company. His wife and one child are at home in Shanghai.